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## THE WRITER AS DEMOCRAT

By EDWARD FIESS

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One of the characteristics of democracy, and one of its great difficulties too, is that, theoretically and ideally, it lays all of its citizens under contribution. As democracy grows, it imposes greater and greater levies of time and effort on more and more people, and such a contribution is both a privilege and a duty, both a right and an obligation. For the purposes of discussion we may divide this democratic obligation into two main kinds, each naturally shading off into the other and neither in the nature of things exclusive of the other. One of these is nonvocational, the other vocational.

The first, the nonvocational, is known to every schoolboy who has had a taste of elementary civics. Basically, it includes such elements as the obligation to vote, to be well informed on public questions, to be willing to enter the political arena, and to be available for public office. Although the ability to discharge this obligation varies with the intelligence, character, and education of the individual, it is nevertheless a potential in all of us. Few would deny this point, as few would deny that a two-way process is involved, that the evolving course of democracy requires extension of the suffrage, a wider diffusion of accurate information, and a numerically increased body of leaders as well as an increased ability on the part of the individual citizen, fostered through exercise, to vote wisely, to interpret intelligently the facts that are given to him, and to hold public office with honesty and skill when he acquires it.

The second of these duties and privileges of the individual is the obligation to be a democrat in the field of one's own vocation. In itself, it will appear to some as a novelty and to others as both a novelty and a heresy. We are not yet convinced as a people that the individual as lawyer, as doctor, as businessman has a contri-

bution to make whose peculiar character flows from his being a lawyer, a doctor, or a businessman. It has a twofold aspect, comprising the individual's relations both with those outside his profession or vocation and with those within it. The first aspect, that of the relations between vocations, both as groups and as individuals, and the lay public is definitely more debatable in practice than it is in principle. But see even here how seldom the principle itself is accorded any measure of acceptance. Much of the recent controversy over socialized medicine, for example, is shot through with honest doubts and dishonest reservations on this score.

The second aspect, that of the relations between the individual and others within his vocational group, is even less debatable in principle, but, like all things supremely valuable, most difficult in practice. How often do we see democracy working itself out in the meetings of lawyers, doctors, clergymen, businessmen, or laborers, in the faculty meeting, in the classroom, or in the professional convention? It is too often assumed that the lawyer can conscientiously conduct a fight against undemocratic legislation in public discussion and at the same time in private meetings perpetuate an undemocratic organization of the ranks of his own group, that the teacher can aid mightily in public enlightenment and at the same time be a petty dictator in the classroom and the faculty meeting, that the labor leader can support a greater measure of democracy for his own special group and at the same time keep that special group in bondage to oligarchic methods. As we think further, we can see ourselves thus letting democracy in at the door and out at the window. Among the few intolerances of our governmental and social ideal is that of vested interests of any sort, whether they be economic, vocational, or intellectual. All the preceding sentences will be recognized as a familiar plea for democracy as a way of life.

Of these vocational groups there are two that have possibly greater burdens to bear than any other in this respect. The student of society and the writer, both in the broadest interpretations of the terms, must include and consider all other vocations in the performance of their work, even though each individual specializes of necessity. Both must survey all of society, but the writer in addition must present his observations in a form at once esthetic

and emotional. And here we come upon a controversy. Enter the nature of art. And when we have laid all the ghosts that frighten away the average artist from a social rôle—the essentially individual and lonely nature of creation, the special techniques of the various arts, the sacrosanct matter of inspiration, the freedom of craftsmanship from the demands of the “mob”—there enters another troupe of bogeys having to do with literary creation in particular—the special nature of language and the language arts, the distinction between “pure” and “impure” literature, the boundaries between the genres and the domain of each.

It is fitting that all of these questions should be moot. But we posit a not too hypothetical character, the writer who aims to play a social rôle but who wonders what that rôle may be in terms of his own interests, abilities, and preoccupations. Let us remember, too, that a social rôle in a democracy must be a democratic rôle. Both the cause of literary art and the cause of politics have suffered grievously in the past, particularly during the period of the upsurge of Marxism in America in the thirties, from too narrow a conception of the relations between them. Too often have the pundits of literature, those before Tolstoy and after, asserted that the writer must be a polemicist, if not in form at least in intention. Is it any wonder, then, that there is a contrary tendency to take art away to a “safe” place?

Extremists of both varieties have frequently given us a stone when we asked for bread. The continuing nature and worth of the literary art require a balance, whether conscious or unconscious, between two elements that for the lack of better terms we may call “esthetic” and “social.” If radicals of either sort have done much less harm than we might expect, the saving grace is that practice can be better than theory, as it was in Zola. The palace of art has many mansions; interior decorators should be warned against standardizing the furniture.

## II

The writer who assumes that to play a social rôle he must have a sharply defined creed, party, or program is in a quandary at the present time. If he is determined that this social rôle be a demo-

cratic one, he can find no refuge in the programs of the recent past, which are, in one or another way, dead, moribund, or bankrupt. Populism, Theodore Roosevelt's "Square Deal," and Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" have all been orphaned by time. Roosevelt's "New Deal," as a loosely cohesive body of *ex postfacto* doctrine, seems destined after the war, although the process has already begun, to lose its individuality in the mainstreams of other movements to come. Those parts of it that have won the day and become accepted have lost their viability, and the other portions are apparently either to be discarded, watered down, or absorbed.

There have been other creeds, less general in their origins. In the late twenties Babbitt and More were able to marshal their partisans for ideological battles. But the "New Humanism" with its blinkers on was viciously undemocratic and with its blinkers off viciously anti-democratic. It produced a crop of thinkers who still survive here and there in the academic cloisters, but its appeal is past. As a social and literary movement the New Humanism teaches us the lesson that preoccupation with a narrow estheticism bound to a narrow moralism and with a sterile and antiseptic art can go hand in glove with a reactionary view of society as a statically stable thing. As an actor on the stage it performed the chief function of quickening the other actors into dialogue and activity, of sharpening the ideas of the "humanitarian" critics, for example, and of preparing the latter for the battles of the thirties. As soon as the New Humanist became a straight man or a fall guy, the drama rapidly degenerated into vaudeville.

Here we might say a word about the southern agrarianism stemming from the Vanderbilt University group. As a nostalgic scheme for a nearly perfect society in which the writers who make the plans will have the optimum environment which their conception of their work demands, it will continue to exercise some fascination for a certain class of southern intellectual. But the appeal and application are merely sectional, for regionalism seems more and more inadequate as the country and the world shrink in the course of development. Moreover, there is evidence that if regional solutions are admitted, southern agrarianism is of doubtful value, even for the South. Indeed, the whole movement seems more symp-

tomatic of a reaction against a certain type of Northern and national opinion than it is worthy in its own right.

Freshest in the memory because of its recency and because of its continuing influence is the Marxist-Communist movement in the United States, particularly that following the adoption of the "United Front" policy internationally. With the Communist Party at the center, it brought some good and much evil in its train. Setting aside the narrowness of its conceptions, it brought home to many a writer the truth that there is a social function in literature, although this was hardly a discovery. It gave new strength and direction to the expatriates and bohemians of the twenties by turning them from esthetic radicals into political radicals.

On the negative side it based too many controversies on what Stalin had or had not said, or on what had or had not happened within the borders of Russia. Obligated to place literature in the scheme of dialectical materialism, it singled out realism for its special approbation. If the writer was to help the coming revolution, he was to write realistically about the right people in the right way. So came the "proletarian" novel, which was not written by proletarians and not read by them, as Louis Adamic found by cautious survey. In criticism it gave birth to a group of critics and reviewers who valued works of art by the opinions found or imagined in them.

But the important point to remember is that the Communism of the thirties convinced many a writer that he needed a political program not only for the sake of aiding his suffering fellow-countrymen but also for the sake of vitalizing his own art. The latter proposition is the one that we question most seriously here, distinguishing "program" from "creed." The Communist Party seemed to supply such a program, along with revisions and additions from headquarters in the manner of *Nelson's Looseleaf Encyclopedia*. Did the galled jade wince in this case or that, the offending writer's source of income, social background, and past opinions were scrutinized and he was discredited. When we view the bankruptcy of literary Marxism, we are justified in asking whether the writer's work demands an artistic and political program. When we view the past effects of this kind of narrow



Marxist program on politics alone, and its continuing effect as well, we are justified in wondering whether democracy is served by such a program.

Others have said all this before, during the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact. But with the rise of a new form of cloudy thinking which makes the Russian people, the Russian government, and Communist Party supporters here and abroad share alike in an indiscriminated glory, it needs to be said again.

The more closely we study the thirties in American literature and life, the more it becomes apparent that the real weakness of many writers and thinkers during this period was not their concentration on social issues and problems, for the social problems of the time demanded such concentration, but rather their conscious or unconscious abandonment of the democratic method as any basis for solution. That there was every appearance of the democratic method on the surface, the simple statistics of the mass meetings, the congresses of insurgent youth, the numerous protests and petitions—all these attest. That there was less of the real stuff of democracy in the insurgent rank and file than superficial observation might indicate seems more than likely by later reports. Democracy is a slow method and it is not likely to recommend itself to the impatient; the perilous condition of America after 1929 did not lend itself to patience. Similarly, America's impatience with the slow methods of democracy sprang from the previous abuse of that system itself, notably in the chapter of American life that began with the "red raids" of Mitchell Palmer and continued through the scandals of the Harding régime and the complacent inaction of Coolidge and Hoover.

### III

The time is ripe for American writers and intellectuals to re-dedicate themselves to democracy. Whatever our party alignments after the war, democracy will be, or should be, the rule of the game. But the simple statement that writers should re-devote themselves to a democratic philosophy is exceedingly dangerous if it is made and accepted without referents and clarifications. Reduced to its weakest point, it would pave America with good in-



tentions and win assent from every anti-democrat. Given the implementation of specific techniques and definite goals, it will find no reactionary favor. As their first lesson, intellectuals will have to read John Dewey over again at the same time that they re-discover and re-evaluate our American past and our American thinkers. The latter process is already under way, as the recent writings of Dos Passos, Edmund Wilson, and others show. At its best, this tendency exemplifies that eloquent restatement and re-presentation of the past without which no cultural group can achieve continuity in its actions; at its worst, it fritters off into easy nationalism and a greater concern with mass-symbols than with fundamental meanings.

To the intelligent individual it is clearer now than ever before that democracy within one's own country is not democracy at all—in a world where men sink or swim internationally. To such people, chary of the excesses of nationalism, our re-discovery of our American past, just because it has been so long overdue, is likely to be overeager as well.

Given, then, the American writer eager to serve the democratic cause, what shall he do? His duties are wide enough to go far beyond the limits and functions of writers' protective associations. He must fight censorship, certainly, but he reduces himself to futility if he conceives this fight solely as one against an invasion of his own rights. It is equally an infringement of the rights of his audience.

But the struggle against censorship is itself conceived too narrowly. It is not won when *Jurgen* or *God's Little Acre* or *Ulysses* is cleared by the courts. In the real dynamism of democracy we may doubt whether it is ever won, for new possibilities are as infinite as the sands of the sea. Among the forms of unofficial censorship which escape our vigilance, take the average rural or small-town library where such works as those mentioned above do not appear, often because of policies established by trustees or because of the timidity of librarians. There is also the unofficial censorship of genteel opinion, usually academic in its provenance. The plea of a Howard Mumford Jones or the recent appeal of Van Wyck Brooks for "wholeness" and "wholesomeness" in our literature has its danger. The critic himself can become a censor, or,

what is worse, lead the creative writer to become his own censor. There is the censorship, both official and unofficial, of the stage, which has comparative freedom in New York and something less than that in Boston. As time goes on, the motion pictures will become more and more important as an interpretative medium for literature. Our guideposts here, pointing to future developments, are not *Gone with the Wind*, but rather such products as *The River*, *The City*, and *The Ox-Bow Incident*. But Hollywood's censorship is now an efficient system, one, moreover, suspiciously under the control of a minority religious body. The antics of Hearst and his minions in the matter of *Citizen Kane* in certain cities show that freedom of speech can be nationally affirmed and locally denied.

In the matter of freedom from censorship, the writer can easily cripple himself by having an interest only in his own backyard. While he should neglect none of the ramifications of the problem, he is doubly foolish if he neglects his sister arts.

The burdens of the writer in a democracy press with special urgency on the literary critic and the book reviewer. If he takes his task seriously, he is concerned not merely with the evaluation of the literature he surveys but with the interpretation that must come before any evaluation is possible. If he conceives his work in large enough terms, he must be aware that he is a specially endowed intermediary between the literary creator and the literary audience. He has the twofold job of enlarging, deepening, and leading public taste and of directing, enforcing, and encouraging auctorial ambitions and purposes; he must interpret the writer to the public and the public to the writer.

In a democratic society he must add to his scale of values those that a working democracy may enjoin upon him. In his interpretation he must consider more closely the audience to which he directs his explanations and perceptions. Striving to enlarge public taste, he must be particularly concerned with public education; endeavoring to lead it, he must give a thought to his own audience. If he deals with the rôle and capabilities of the writer, he must come, sooner or later, to the educational facilities or economic opportunities which the latter as a type enjoys or lacks.

## IV

"Before we can have an American literature, we must have an American criticism." Thanks to the earlier precept of Van Wyck Brooks we have come far along that road, but our advances are still the results of the efforts of a few. In some ways the prospect is melancholy. Malcolm Cowley once studied the review clippings in a publisher's files and showed clearly that a large number of reviewers, presuming to assay Dos Passos' *U.S.A.*, had not actually bothered to read and study it. Max Gissen has given us a devastating survey of the whole field of book reviewing.

R. P. Blackmur has remarked that as soon as one learns a man is a critic (as distinguished from a reviewer), one asks him, "Where do you teach?" But the colleges and universities are more than the critic's frequent means of support. They are the training grounds where a large section of his audience is formed, where literary appreciation in many a young mind is born and bred. The training ground leaves much to be desired. Too often the student emerges from the graduate school with no more taste than he had when he entered; he has exercised canonical methods of studying duly canonized works. In many colleges American literature has fought an uphill battle, and recently contemporary literature has had to follow a similar pattern of struggle in the schools. The whole concept of teaching literature as teaching literary art, propounded by Mr. Lundberg of Bennington College, among others, when its implications are grasped, will seem a novel idea to many who roost in the academic shades.

The critic is concerned with literature in a more intellectual sense than the creative writer is. The novelist and the poet may place their products before us and say, "Here they are!" It is not incumbent upon them to provide rationalizations and explanations of their creative processes or to make an explicit exposition of their schemes of esthetic and social values, even though novelists, both those with and those without a specific critical bent, from Henry James to Thomas Wolfe and James T. Farrell, have given us valuable explanations of their own artistic concepts. The literary critic in all ages, because of the very nature of his work, has had sooner or later to deal with his method explicitly and find justifications for his beliefs and procedures.

It seems the critic's business to concern himself with the chief intellectual currents of his day and with their influence on the practice of his own craft. He must familiarize himself with psychology, sociology, philosophy, and the history of ideas. It is a truism that men, whatever intellectual field they may be in, turn sooner or later to the study of philosophy if their interests are broad enough.

But the modern writer or critic is likely to feel that no philosophy in the formal sense can serve him well enough. In this or that area the achievements of the philosopher are useful. Edmund Wilson found a fecund approach to symbolist literature in the analysis of Whitehead. But the approach to literature through the whole vision of a philosopher or a philosophy, with the exception of Neo-Thomism, has not often been tried of late.

The literary critic who would be a liberal and a democrat has a philosopher to whom he can give study and allegiance. John Dewey has studied and analyzed contemporary life and American democracy in all their large manifestations; he has always brought to that study the most pervasive, insistent, and consistent emphasis on democracy that any thinker of his stature has ever brought to bear. His activity has spanned threescore years, and almost every phase of the life of America bears the impress of his thinking. His thought has reached into many lands and quickened the ways of life in far corners. Nevertheless, our articulate political liberals have by-passed him, and our literary critics have remained largely unaffected. Why?

## V

One might hazard the guess that the esthetic implications of Dewey's approach were not apparent until he himself set them forth in *Art as Experience*. But when this book appeared, the urgency of the thirties had introduced new factors into American life. These new factors militated against Dewey's whole method. Although few said so explicitly, democracy as a method was seriously questioned; attacks upon it were disguised as attacks on meliorism, gradualism, Fabianism, and reformism. In the discussion of social questions this was most apparent; but revolution

had won over evolution in a variety of fields. The artist, no less than the professional political revolutionary, from whom he was often indistinguishable, spoke and wrote of overthrowing old values, of subverting the antiquated, of finding a new and sudden synthesis, often as the third stage following thesis and antithesis. It is not surprising that Dewey's entire philosophy receded into the background, as far as the general educated public was concerned, or that too few tried to bring its methods to flower in the action with which Dewey has always been concerned.

But the time is ripe for us to turn to Dewey again. Re-discovering our American past and our American present means re-discovering Dewey, for he has brought much of his thinking to bear on the very point where the problems of democracy are complicated by the problems of modern technology. In the long run, he has been right. He has provided the ethos and the intellectual basis for democracy; and he has given us that ethos in dynamic terms, not in static ones. If we did not have Dewey, it would be necessary for us to traverse his intellectual path by ourselves. Working with and through his thought, conceiving that thought as another link in the chain that goes back through Paine's and Jefferson's time, we may approach the vision that Whitman saw and described in his own peculiar prose:

Our fundamental want today in the United States, with closest, amplest reference to present conditions, and to the future, is of a class, and the clear idea of a class, of native Authors, Literatures, far different, far higher in grade than any yet known, sacerdotal, modern, fit to cope with our occasions, lands, permeating the whole mass of American mentality, taste, belief, breathing into it a new breath of life, giving it decision, affecting politics far more than the popular superficial suffrage, with results inside and underneath the elections of Presidents or Congresses, radiating, begetting appropriate teachers and schools, manners, costumes, and, as its grandest result, accomplishing, (what neither the schools nor the churches and the clergy have hitherto accomplished, and without which this nation will no more stand, permanently, soundly, than a house will stand without a substratum), a religious and moral character beneath the political and productive and intellectual bases of The States.

*(Democratic Vistas, 1871)*

## IN DEFENSE OF HUMANISM

By H. STEFAN SCHULTZ

Skidmore College

The problem of how to maintain liberal education in wartime, as stated by Professors Jones and Rice in their article, "Make the War Worth Winning,"<sup>1</sup> should be carefully considered by all who believe in education for freedom and democracy. This problem is not entirely a result of the war. The war has merely brought to a head a critical situation which had been developing for some generations; nor is the problem the result of technical deficiencies in the general educational, financial, or curricular set-up. How can we "require through the colleges a more widespread understanding of the purpose and ideals of the liberal state. . .?" It is true that there could be required the presentation of a certain number of credits for graduation in certain specified subjects, but the understanding of ideals cannot be realized by such requirements. Will "the institution of new courses in the humanities" make automatically for more humane beings? This country with its large number of liberal arts colleges should already have attained a high degree of humanism if courses alone sufficed. The problem cannot be solved, therefore, merely by introducing new techniques, although the right kinds of "techniques" are very helpful. The purpose of this paper is to present a diagnosis of the ills of liberal education and to suggest a remedial treatment and a possible cure.

We start from two premises. First, the aim of education is the orientation of man in the world of thought. Second, the human being is a unified whole. Education is, therefore, not concerned with any particular part of man, *e. g.*, his brain or his heart or his hands, but with the total human being.

The first premise needs an explanation. It would, of course, be possible to let everybody get his bearings in the world by going out

<sup>1</sup> February, 1943 *Bulletin*, American Association of University Professors, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, pp. 57-60.



into it. This would, obviously, be a very wasteful process. As a short cut to reality we have the classroom and try to orient young people in the world of *thought*, presupposing that theory and practice are not divorced by a yawning gap, but that a correct theory can always be put into working practice.

For the sake of our present discussion we may consider the three broad divisions of a liberal arts curriculum as three realms or territories of which we try to furnish a map to our students, being well aware that such a division is artificial. The world is one, and it is only because of our limited faculties that we must analyze it first before we are able to synthesize it.

All practical teachers know that education is a patient process of the mastery of details, minute by minute, hour by hour, day by day. There is no royal road to learning through an airy path of brilliant generalisations. There is a proverb about the difficulty of seeing the wood because of the trees. . . . The problem of education is to make the pupil see the wood by means of the trees.<sup>1</sup>

The three broad divisions of our curriculum are like three patches of a larger wood. The *natural sciences*, broadly speaking, orient the student in the physical world; the *social sciences*, again broadly speaking, do the same in the cultural world, in that part of human existence which is no longer *natura* but *cultura* in the full meaning of the Latin terms. Besides these two realms we distinguish a third realm: the realm of values. While we can and usually do investigate the realm of nature "objectively," without the introduction of moral or aesthetic values, as a territory in which all things are on the same level of importance, equally worthy of empirical investigation, we proceed in the social or "cultural" realm not exclusively by the objective, *i. e.*, "scientific" method, but apply, consciously or unconsciously, a scale of values. We call things good or bad, wise or foolish, ugly or beautiful, desirable or undesirable. These values are, however, not inherent in the nature of social or political institutions. The family, the tribe, the city, the state, or any social or political community or organization does not represent an autonomous value.

<sup>1</sup> A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), p. 10.

The Academy was founded for the sake of spiritual values, but in a community rascals also can band together; and a family, a people, a fatherland, a state grant those who belong to them protection, help, habits and customs, and every kind of advantage: it is because of this that they are merely bearers of survival values. If, therefore, the state is nothing but a mere *collectivum*, the sociological axiom must be applied to it, that the standards of a community are determined by the standards of the lowest of its members. The state, as a national and social state, can then realize no higher value than just the power or well-being of the particular people whose organization it represents. It represents in this case the moral idea of the common interest, as against the self-interest of the individual, but it realizes, thereby, merely a collective self-interest.<sup>1</sup>

It is necessary to say this because of the modern tendency to surround any communal organization, be it good or bad, with a reverence bordering on superstition, or, in other words, to view the mere fact of the establishment of the relationship of an individual to a community as a moral idea. It may be such a moral idea, depending on the human beings who constitute the community, but it is not such an idea by its very nature. There must be an independent and autonomous realm of values whence the social and political institutions derive their standards. We find this realm in a liberal arts curriculum represented by religion, philosophy, the letters, and fine arts. It is again necessary to insist on the reality and validity of this realm as one without which our civilization reverts to a purely "biotic" and mechanic state because of a growing tendency to consider religion, philosophy, the letters, and the fine arts as ornamental features of education rather than as vital parts. Those fields of study which deal first of all with values, standards for conduct, be they moral, ethical, or aesthetic, are relegated in our appraisal to the Sunday parlor, to be visited in our spare moments, or to be paid lip service on festive occasions like convocations or commencement exercises. This state of affairs is not of today, but stems from a change in western thinking which can be traced through the last hundred years. I hope that this will become clear when we consider our second premise: that man is an *individuum*, a totality, a whole, and contrast this assertion with the present "atomization" of the human being.

<sup>1</sup> Edith Landmann, *Grundzüge einer Lehre vom Schönen* (Mscpt. Basel, 1940), p. 237 f.



## II

The following lines from Robert Browning's poem, "A Death in the Desert," bring out the point I should like to make.

This is the doctrine he was wont to teach,  
 How divers persons witness in each man  
 Three souls which make up one soul: first, to wit,  
 A soul of each and all the bodily parts,  
 Seated therein, which works, and is *What Does*,  
 And hath the use of earth and ends the man  
 Downwards: but tending upward for advice,  
 Grows into, and again is grown into  
 By the next soul, which seated in the brain,  
 Useth the first with its collected use,  
 And feeleth, thinketh, willeth—is *What Knows*:  
 Which duly tending upward in its turn,  
 Grows into, and again is grown into  
 By the last soul, that useth both the first,  
 Subsisting whether they exist or no,  
 And constituting man's self, is *What Is*—  
 And leans upon the former, makes it play,  
 As that played off the first: and tending up,  
 Holds, is upheld by, God, and ends the man  
 Upward in that dread point of intercourse,  
 Nor needs a place, for it returns to Him.  
 What Does, what Knows, what Is: three souls, one man.

There is no mistaking what Browning means, nor in what degree of hierarchy he places What Does, What Knows, What Is. It is equally obvious that our ways of thinking have changed completely, not to say have been perverted. In education, as in all other phases of human activity, the highest value is no longer placed on What Is, man's self, but on What Does, whereby it matters little *what* one does. There are enough people even who misunderstand John Dewey's "Learn by doing" so much that they are convinced that one may learn *A* by doing *B*, *e. g.*, learn to become an intelligent citizen and voter in a democracy by merely being trained in earning a living. This goes to show that What Knows can hold its place only by entering the service of What Does, of efficiency, of "Get on or get out." Efficiency for what? I am afraid it is no longer for What Is, for man's self, for that

personality of which Goethe says: "'tis possible to lead any kind of life as long as one does not miss oneself; one may lose everything as long as one remains what *one is*."

The loss of this human personality, using both the What Does and the What Knows and "ending man upward," appears in education in the form of tremendous specialization even at the undergraduate level, of departmentalization where none of the atoms of knowledge has anything to do with the other, and nothing at all with the human being. *Abeunt studia in mores*: this is no longer true. What follows from the reading of *Measure for Measure* beyond an examination either passed or failed? Few students can be expected to be touched to the quick by a line so that it says something to *them, today*.

But man, proud man.  
Dressed in a little brief authority,—  
Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd,  
His glassy essence,—like an angry ape,  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,  
As make the angels weep.

The students will say: Oh, we have no time to read Shakespeare that way, or for that matter any other thing. Every department, every field of study has become independent, and it is no wonder that a course in radio technique proves to be more alluring, because the student sees how it *works*, than a course in Shakespeare, about which he sees nothing definite and nothing practical.

For this, we should neither blame the students nor their teachers. It is only logical that, in the course of the 19th century, with the tremendous advance of the natural sciences, the college curriculum should reflect this trend through a greater emphasis on the fields of study which were casting our world in an entirely new mold. To harness nature to our use was the chief business of the last hundred years. Unbelievably successful in this enterprise, we thought it all-important and educated the young accordingly. There was nothing inherently bad in this development. The danger arose when the new method of quantitative exactness and complete "objectivity" which had proved so effective in dealing with

*natura* was also applied to *cultura*, and even to those subjects which can only be utilized through a qualitative interpretation, but remain idle playthings for so-called "scholarship" when approached in any other way. I should consider it a grave loss if we abandoned critical rationalism which we have gained under great pains, our philological method, empirical exactness, and sober research through causal investigation, but there can be no doubt that, in our desire to emulate the natural sciences, we abolished, to a large extent, the application of a scale of values when dealing with the humanities. One example may suffice for many. We read in an intelligent history of German literature: "The famous poets are on the same level as the obscure ones, as far as their value is concerned. They all have their value, be they the greatest or only minor ones; what we are concerned with is merely history, to show what was and what became. Whether it was beautiful, right, and good—these questions are like secondary sounds which do not belong in the musical piece. History is pleasantly indifferent to the question: who could make the better verses?"<sup>1</sup> History is pleasantly indifferent to this question. We as teachers and students cannot and must not be indifferent to it. History is an abstraction and has value only when viewed from our needs, our wants, our desires. The humanities deal with historical subject matter, with What Was and What Became. But they have a place in education not because they give man an encyclopedic knowledge, *i. e.*, inert knowledge, a mere ballast, but only if they energize and activate the human being.

The only use of a knowledge of the past is to equip us for the present. No more deadly harm can be done to young minds than by depreciation of the present. The present contains all that there is. It is holy ground; for it is the past, and it is the future. . . . The communion of saints is a great and inspiring assemblage, but it has only one possible hall of meeting, and that is, the present; and the mere lapse of time through which any particular group of saints must travel to reach that meeting-place, makes very little difference.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Josef Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, (Regensburg, 1923), Vol. I, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Whitehead, *loc. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

And, we may add: this is the reason why some of yesterday's writings are already stale and unprofitable, and some lines of 2500 years ago are still pulsating with life.

It would require a special paper to show how the complete change in western thinking, the change from Humboldt and Hegel to Darwin, from *Geist* to *Natur*, from form to matter, has influenced every phase of life. Its disastrous effects can be immediately grasped in the realm of politics, yet are not confined to it. This is not just the battle between "science" and the "humanities"; not merely the problem of the humanities not being appreciated. If we want to preserve the "intangible values" of the humanities—and of life, which are to me very tangible values because they affect concrete standards of thought and action, we have to look within ourselves and do a thorough job of house-cleaning.

### III

The letters, *e. g.*, should be taught "absolutely," with the constant question: what has the man to say to us now? Let us forget about peeping through the keyholes into a poet's life—what we call "humanizing" poetry. It is not our concern to know whether Shelley had one illegitimate child or ten.<sup>1</sup> Let us forget about those complete surveys of English or French or German literature, with their periods nicely but mechanically classified into meaningless -isms. Let us hate all knowledge which fails to activate us or which we are unprepared to incorporate in us. I grant it is much harder to teach in this way, and far harder to examine what has been taught. But we can and should teach the humanities qualitatively unless we want to justify all those who say that philosophy or literature or art are good enough for a leisure class, which no longer exists, that for our age they are antiquated, impractical, and a waste of precious time. We should have to re-think our teaching every year. There may be times when it is proper to read and discuss with a class "Strange fits of passion have I known." In this year of grace it is far more im-

<sup>1</sup> About the fashionableness of the "vies romancées" with their blind disregard for truth see J. Huizinga, *Wege der Kulturgeschichte* (München, 1930), p. 43 f.

portant to read and interpret with our students "When I have borne in memory what has tamed Great Nations." Let us not say that our students are not mature enough to understand Plato, for instance. They may not be mature enough to understand the whole of Plato's philosophy, to be sure, but certainly as simple human beings they should be able to get something for themselves for their whole lives from those last pages of the *Phaedo*, relating the death of the man who was in his time "the wisest and justest and best." I even venture to suggest that the few pages in Thucydides, containing Pericles' Funeral Speech, and in contrast those other pages telling about the discussions between Melians and Athenians some 14 years later, when the powerful do what they can and the weak suffer what they must, reveal more about political practices and ideals than many a lengthy textbook.

I am not advocating the compulsory learning of Greek and Latin; we know that it cannot be done in mass-education. I just happen to mention from the many "classics" the names of two Greeks because it has been my experience that the greatest benefit to be derived from a lively acquaintance with them is a standard of values.<sup>1</sup>

Moral education is impossible apart from the habitual vision of greatness. If we are not great, it does not matter what we do or what is the issue. . . . The sense of greatness is the ground work of morals. We are at the threshold of a democratic age, and it

<sup>1</sup> See John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir), *Pilgrim's Way* (Houghton Mifflin Co. 1940), pp. 26 f. "This preoccupation with the classics was the happiest thing that could have befallen me. It gave me a standard of values. To live for a time close to great minds is the best kind of education. . . . The classics enjoined humility. The spectacle of such magnificence was a corrective to youthful immodesty. . . . For if the classics widened my sense of the joy of life they also taught its littleness and transience; if they exalted the dignity of human nature they insisted upon its frailties and the *aidos* with which the temporal must regard the eternal. . . . Indeed, I cannot imagine a more precious viaticum than the classics of Greece and Rome, or a happier fate than that one's youth should be intertwined with their world of clear, mellow lights, gracious images, and fruitful thoughts. . . . No science or philosophy can give that colouring, for such provide a schematic, and not a living, breathing universe. And I do not think that the mastery of other literatures can give it in a like degree, for they do not furnish the same totality of life—a complete world, recognisable as such, a humane world, yet one untouchable by decay and death—

Based on the crystalline sea  
Of truth and its eternity."

remains to be determined whether the equality of man is to be realised on a high level or on a low level.<sup>1</sup>

This is a good answer to the pessimistic question with which Rostovtzeff closes his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*: "Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses?"<sup>2</sup> We shall mold our time in the image of what we believe in and of what we love: as an old mystic said, "God you shall be if you love God, and Earth if you love Earth." Or to put it in the words of Walt Whitman:

For, I say, the true nationality of the States, the genuine union, when we come to a mortal crisis, is, and is to be, after all, neither the written law, nor (as is generally supposed) either self-interest, or common pecuniary or material objects—but the fervid and tremendous IDEA, melting everything else with resistless heat, and solving all lesser and definite distinctions in vast indefinite, spiritual, emotional power.

Actually, however, "it is as if we were somehow being endow'd with a vast and more and more thoroughly-appointed body, and then left with little or no soul."<sup>3</sup>

Man has lost his soul, certainly the "last soul" of which Brown-ing speaks. Can education give it back to him? I do not know, but it seems to me worth trying. The only point where the attempt can be made in our curriculum is in the realm of the humanities. Yet we shall never speak to the hearts of our students unless what we say comes from our hearts, unless our life and our doctrine are one, unless we are professors in the true sense, people who profess some creed.

The naïve evolutionism which is rampant in the humanities is merely the symptom of the general change from spirit to nature, so succinctly expressed by Robert Frost in "The White-tailed Hornet":

<sup>1</sup> Whitehead, *loc. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 487.

<sup>3</sup> Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas* (Garden City: The Doubleday-Doran Series in Literature 1935), edited by Louise Pound, pp. 268, 271.



To err is human, not to, animal  
Or so we pay the compliment to instinct,  
Only too liberal of our compliment  
That really takes away instead of gives.  
Our worship, humor, conscientiousness  
Went long since to the dogs under the table.  
And served us right for having instituted  
Downward comparisons. As long on earth  
As our comparisons were stoutly upward  
With gods and angels, we were men at least,  
But little lower than the gods and angels.  
But once comparisons were yielded downward,  
Once we began to see our images  
Reflected in the mud and even dust,  
We were lost piecemeal to the animals  
Like people thrown out to delay the wolves.<sup>1</sup>

If we want to make the younger generation capable of ruling this world again as it would be ruled, to save it from pride and folly, to permeate it again with the spirit, then we, the older generation, must recognize or retrieve those eternal truths which are above the stream of evolution and change. It is these values that are at stake. To do it we must not glibly announce that there are "eternal verities"; we must actively *live* what a real humanist once said:

A liberal education is not an appendage to be purchased by a few: Humanism is, rather, a *quality* which can, and should, condition all our teaching; which can, and should, be impressed as a character upon it all, from a poor child's first lesson in reading up to a tutor's last word to his pupil on the eve of a Tripos.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Frost, *Collected Poems* (New York: Halcyon House, 1939), p. 361 f.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, *On the Art of Reading* (New York and London: G. B. Putnam, 1920), p. VII.

## THE WINNING OF THE PEACE<sup>1</sup>

By VLADIMIR HURBAN

Czechoslovak Embassy

I was very much impressed by a recent publication listing the names and activities of institutions, organizations, and agencies in the United States which are concerned with the problem of lasting peace.<sup>2</sup> Their programs and plans could all be listed under your slogan, "Win the War, Win the Peace." The survey which served as a basis for this publication was made in June, 1941 and revised in December, 1941, a remarkable fact since the United States was then a nonbelligerent. It is one of the positive indications that the attitude of the American people has undergone a complete change during the last 25 years. I have been a witness to this. I came to this country in the autumn of 1918, shortly before the armistice, and, although I traveled through it extensively, I found that the only men who were concerned in any way about the postwar program were those of the government, the diplomats, and a few professors. The vast majority of Americans supported their boys wholeheartedly over there simply because they were their boys. They wanted the boys to win, to lick the adversary, but that was where it ended. And that was one of the major factors in the tragic failure to realize the great ideal of one of the most noble-minded Americans, President Woodrow Wilson.

It happens that I find myself in this country again, a witness under similar circumstances. But what a change! The polls on the concern and feeling of responsibility of the American people for the postwar arrangements throughout the world show a sharp increase in percentage. In 1917-18 it would have been very near to zero. Today we are all conscious of the fact that we are engaged in a global war. On one side stand the nations which believe that only the Four Freedoms proclaimed by President Roosevelt can

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered to the Civitan Club in Washington, D. C., on November 16, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> *Post-War Planning in the United States*, by George B. Galloway. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1942, 158 pp.



assure the peace of mankind. On the other are nations which, claiming racial superiority, regard themselves as entitled to subdue the rest of the world to their will by force. The war is on, and until we, the people who believe in common decency, have absolutely crushed what I would call the animal force of our adversaries there will be no chance of anything even approaching peace. In spite of the frightful battles which are and will be fought all over the globe and the necessity of employing all our material and spiritual resources in winning them, I think it will be an easier matter to win the war than to win the peace. This statement may sound cruel and insensitive to the tremendous sacrifices made in life, health, and property. Nevertheless, I believe it to be so.

The conduct of the war is in the hands of experts. But even experts make mistakes. Military mistakes and reversals, however, are soon clearly apparent. To win the war, apparent mistakes must be repaired. The principal elements essential in the winning of a war are these: (1) righteousness of the cause; (2) the spiritual and physical strength of the fighters determined to win; and (3) material superiority over the enemy.

Only the first of these can be controversial. If the righteousness of the cause is accepted by the people, the other two elements essential for victory do not present serious difficulties. The only difference which might arise from the latter two points is in the consideration of which is the easier and quicker way of reaching the goal.

The United Nations are on the road to victory because they possess these three principal elements necessary to achieve it. The happenings of the past months on the world battle fronts are incontestable proof of this. After three years of continued reversals the United Nations are now on the march—not backward, “according to plans,” as the Germans say when they are licked, but forward according to the plans of the United Nations. Thus the task of winning the war has been significantly narrowed. There are no “ifs”—only “hows.”

## II

The winning of a lasting peace is a much more complicated problem and, therefore, more difficult of realization.

There are generally no recognized experts as there are in military affairs. Everyone is a General, and each point is controversial.

One of the greatest difficulties is to restrain the constantly increasing ambitions of a victorious people. The proverb in German "Mit dem Essen kommt der Appetit," which I would translate "You grow more hungry while devouring," is not to be interpreted as purely of gastronomic significance.

It is not at all difficult to set forth in writing or in a speech or in a sermon the perfect solution of all the troubles of mankind. But to act accordingly is a different matter. The measure of success of any plans for the future organization of mankind will depend not only upon their merits but upon the individual honesty and decency of the men who are entrusted with the responsibility of carrying them out. The weakness of the individual was portrayed by Goethe in his "Faust"—and even more vigorously by Robert Louis Stevenson in his story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. I do not think Stevenson wanted to write a thriller. He, in a very drastic way, indeed, sought to show mankind the duplicity of the individual. The question "Am I my brother's keeper?" corresponds more closely to the attitude of the people today than "Love thy neighbor as thyself. . . ." No individual, no people, no organization whatsoever is absolutely free from a degree of such duplicity. Most of us are not even conscious of it, which makes improvement so much more difficult. That is the reason why extensive discussions on the subject of winning the peace are so vitally important. Such discussions must be extended to include the moral problems of the peace. No accepted moral principle can shed its blessings upon mankind if it is merely preached to neighbors and not practiced honestly and fully by the preachers and the leaders themselves. Furthermore, if the peoples and their leaders, in organizing the peace, are not completely and honestly prompted by the eternal truth that, in the long run, to help is better than to grab, the peace settlement will be that much more difficult to achieve.

In the recent book, *Economic Union and Durable Peace*, by Otto Tod Mallery there is this little parable which I find so excellent that, without asking the author's permission, I shall take the liberty of reading it to you:

Once upon a time an American investigator died and went to Heaven. Before settling down he asked to be allowed to satisfy his curiosity by visiting Hell. He found a circle of hungry-looking, cadaverous individuals around the banquet table spread with a great feast. Each man had a long metal spoon strapped to the inside of his arm, like a splint, so that he could not bend his elbow. No one could feed himself. There they sat, hungry and disconsolate. On his return to Heaven he found another delicious banquet spread, surrounded by a circle of well-fed and happy people. Each man had the same kind of spoon, strapped in the same way. Each was feeding his opposite neighbor.

### III

Every one is asking the question, "What about Germany and its people when Hitler and his Nazism will be ousted?" As in all previous utterances, I am speaking to you not as a Czechoslovak Envoy but as an individual, a world citizen, according to the theses of the late President T. G. Masaryk, and according to the excellent interpretation of the Chinese authority, Mr. Thomas Tchou. It is my opinion that the German people ran amuck, and have to be treated accordingly. The leaders and their assistants who brought this misery upon mankind, even upon the Germans themselves, must be mercilessly exterminated—without exception. I can see, even now, the so-called Reichsmarshal Hermann Goering trying to save his medal-bedecked front by flying to Sweden. No asylum should be accorded any international criminal. But what with the rest of them? In spite of the criminal behavior of the German people, we, their present adversaries, have to concede that the Germans are an able people whose positive achievements in the world of human culture cannot be erased even by the most bitter hatred. Of course, I assume it is taken for granted that the Prussian Junkers and professors who wrote thick volumes about the superiority of the German race, about National Socialistic physics and mathematics, will be entirely eliminated.

The youth, however, the German youth who today are 100 per cent Nazi, must be approached differently. The German youth, for whom we are trying to assure the peace as we are for our own youth, present the most important problem. They are honest in their belief in German supremacy according to the Nazi theory and in the

mystic right to it. Our task is to prove to them that they have been deluded and that they will be wrong if, after the German debacle, they continue in their belief and foster the spirit of revenge. How can this be accomplished? I have a suggestion. Germany must be occupied by the United Nations; this is a prerequisite to the success of any plans for future general peace. Hitler's argument that the Germans were not beaten in 1918 but were betrayed was the most important stepping stone to his leadership. Now every German, especially each youth, must be convinced within himself that Nazi Germany was beaten. And here we face the task of showing and teaching why they were beaten. I do not think it will be such a difficult task if we go about it intelligently. The complete educational apparatus in Germany must be subject to a degree of supervision. The idea is not to enforce upon the youth by disciplinary methods new principles of which they have never heard but to allow them to discover for themselves the fallacy of their thinking. German youth know only what the Nazi régime has taught them, and this Nazi teaching and literature will prove to be the mightiest boomerang. Instead of seizing the Nazi books and burning them—which is the accepted Nazi procedure—the books should be left in the hands of German youth. In opening their eyes by presenting to them truthfully the record and deeds of the Nazi régime, the Nazi books will be the most effective testimony to the betrayal of German youth. I do not deny that such an undertaking will take time, great patience, and wisdom, but I firmly believe that the German problem can be solved only if and when the Germans themselves honestly reach the conviction that aggression and self-willed supremacy do not pay in the long run.

#### IV

The problem of organizing the various nations and states for lasting peace, especially in Europe, would not be so complicated if certain obsolete principles were thrown overboard without hesitation. These are:

1. Chauvinism, which does not mean devotion to one's own nation but essentially mistrust and hatred toward others.
2. Absolute sovereignty of the States, large and small. The

interdependence of all nations whether they are close to each other or separated by thousands of miles has been confirmed irrevocably by the events of the last decade. Even small nations can cause big wars.

3. The theory that only numerically powerful nations or block of nations against another power or block of powers can survive. Central and South American Republics are an evident proof of the fallacy of this thesis. Of course, there are differences and quarrels in Latin America; life would be dull and uninteresting without them. But since the introduction of the Good Neighbor Policy by the U. S., the differences and quarrels have become stimulants for more intensive work along the road to progress.

4. Forget about geo-politics as an instrument for increasing the power of a nation or a block of nations. The spiritual might of mankind is more powerful in the conduct of its own destiny than the geophysical status under which it lives.

I could enumerate many more theories and principles which caused the present upheaval and which must be entirely discarded in the future. But all belong under the same denominator, directed against justice based on equal rights for all. I close in quoting the famous words of the Czechoslovak President-Liberator, T. G. Masaryk, which, although repeated so often, do not lose their power. The three words are: "Jesus, not Caesar."

## LORD SHAFTESBURY'S IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY

By ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE

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The criticism of academic methods, standards, and ideals presented in the *Characteristics* of Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, is worthy of our careful consideration today, even though Shaftesbury in the eighteenth century was not friendly toward the universities as they then existed and presumably would be no less hostile to those of the twentieth century. His criticism is particularly valuable because it reflects a point of view not frequently encountered in the twentieth century, but which is nonetheless applicable to modern American institutions. That the substance of Shaftesbury's criticism is no longer frequently heard is an indication not that the conditions to which he objected have been corrected, but that there is need for a reappraisal of the function and accomplishments of American universities in the light of Shaftesbury's standards. They have much to suggest to all those who now seek to define and interpret liberal education.

Shaftesbury criticized the universities of his own time because they failed to inculcate, by precept and example, the principles of temperance and self-denial and thus to fit students to command others, "to maintain their country's honour in war, rule wisely in the State, and fight against luxury and corruption in times of prosperity and peace."<sup>1</sup> Even though some modern educators do not agree that it is the place of the universities to foster the austere principles of temperance and self-denial, there are few who would deny their obligation to prepare students for leadership, for understanding of foreign and domestic political issues, for participation in government and for a recognition of the values and responsibilities of ethical conduct. Would, however, an honest appraisal

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Robertson, ed., *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc.*, I, 82

of the results of university education today lead to a conclusion much different from Shaftesbury's that: "If any of these arts are comprehended in university learning, 'tis well. But as some universities in the world are now modelled, they seem not so very effectual to these purposes, nor so fortunate in preparing for a right practice of the world, or a just knowledge of men and things."

Shaftesbury's ideas about the failure of the universities to prepare for right practice and just knowledge may, for convenience, be discussed under the general heads of pedantry, ethical materialism and esthetic materialism. The reader may apply the following brief summary of these heads to either the eighteenth or the twentieth century as he sees fit.

- I. Pedantry keeps the universities from a just knowledge of practical human relationships. Pedantry refers to the aloofness of the scholar from the practical affairs of life; the gravity with which he regards insignificant details and trivial subjects; the learned gibberish by which he attempts to make trivialities appear important.
- II. Ethical materialism keeps the universities from the right practice of honour and honesty, the *dulce et decorum*. It refers to the selfish system of ethics, the tacit assumption by the universities of the view that material gain and self-gratification are the motivating forces of all human conduct.
- III. Esthetic materialism keeps the universities from the appreciation, expression and creation of beauty. It refers to the neglect by the universities of cultural values, the overwhelming ascendancy of the applied sciences and mechanical arts over the fine arts, the narrow specialization which excludes the development of refinement and good taste.

## II

Of the three, Shaftesbury ridicules pedantry most, lashing mercilessly at academic imposture, superficial and misdirected scholarship. "Even rude Nature itself, in its primitive simplicity," he writes, "is a better guide to judgment than improved sophistry and pedantic learning."<sup>1</sup> Formal scholarship, he charges, is based

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 215.



upon a false standard of values. It fails to comprehend many of the most important problems of life and confuses those which it does consider with meaningless distinctions and pompous terminology. Even the study of literature, philosophy, and history is hampered and obscured, according to Shaftesbury, by scholarly apparatus and the volumes of commentary. The gentleman reading works of poetry and history at his leisure has a better understanding and truer relish of their sense than the pedant with all his labors. Because of the seeming labyrinths and mysterious forms surrounding it, scholarly research is not only impractical and uninviting, but unproductive. The aimless blunderings of the scholars in a vacuum appear so ineffectual to Shaftesbury that he regards the mere amusements of gentlemen "as more improving than the profound researches of pedants." If Shaftesbury's condemnation is not entirely applicable to university teachers today, does it not apply to much of their research activities? How much of their pure research has any real influence except upon other probes into the same remote subjects, and how much is even read except by the same esoteric circle? Except perhaps in the science laboratory, is there ever excuse for scholarly labor which has almost no relationship to contemporary problems or the realities of life? It goes without saying, of course, that no criticism of pedantry should be regarded as a blanket indictment of all research, but Shaftesbury's words have a monitory value not to be neglected. Certainly scholarship is not exempt from the tests of ridicule and good sense.

The pedants are contrasted by Shaftesbury to the virtuosi or refined wits of the age. His definition of the latter comprises his view of liberal education, which apart from the absence of a knowledge of the physical sciences includes all of the attributes which are considered results of liberal education today and perhaps some which today should be more highly regarded. The virtuosi are "the lovers of art and ingenuity, such as have seen the world, and informed themselves of the manners and customs of the several nations of Europe; searched into their antiquities and records; considered their police, laws, and constitutions; observed the situation, strength, and ornaments of their cities, their principal arts, studies, and amusements; their architecture,



sculpture, painting, music, and their taste in poetry, learning, language, and conversation."<sup>1</sup>

The extreme of this virtuoso character, however, is the pedant or the scholar, who regards research as an end instead of a means. From the productive study of man and the world with which he is acquainted, he proceeds with equal or greater zeal to the exhaustive study of subjects "of no relation to our real interests or to those of society and mankind."

Pretentious terminology, or scholarly hocus-pocus, is invented by the formalist to conceal the barrenness of this type of research, and "a set frame of metaphysical phrases and distinctions can serve to solve whatever difficulties may be propounded either in logic, ethics, or any real science of whatever kind."<sup>2</sup>

The remedy for education, based on this wrong ground of pedantry, Shaftesbury found in "that excellent school we call the world."<sup>3</sup> Here he agrees with Bacon in the very important principle that studies teach not their own use, that knowledge acquired in the classroom is completely valueless unless applied to the realities of life. Shaftesbury's definition of liberal education, therefore, includes both principle and practice. One may, he says, "obtain the full advantage of a just and liberal education by uniting the scholar-part with that of the real gentleman and man of breeding;" but a combination is necessary. Neither study in an educational institution nor experience in the world can by itself provide a liberal education. The world which Shaftesbury had in mind was the polite world; its vice, foppery, was matched by that of the schools, pedantry. Perhaps in our world, which may not be so polite, foppery is no longer the chief vice, but in the schools pedantry has by no means been eliminated.

The learned gibberish of the scholar and his occupation with trivial and insignificant subjects, ridiculous as they may be, however, are not so serious as his traditional aloofness, both from society and from the important problems of life. This aloofness of the pedant contributes to the ethical materialism and the esthetic materialism of the universities.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 215.

## III

Shaftesbury, in a letter to a young friend, congratulates him on his having had little to do with the philosophy or philosophers of their day. Here Shaftesbury is referring, not to philosophy in general, but to a particular philosophic school. This philosophy he describes by the words of Jove, "Skin for skin: all that a man hath will he give for his life." It rates life "by the number and exquisiteness of the pleasing sensations," and sets these in opposition "to dry virtue and honesty."<sup>1</sup> The philosophy to which Shaftesbury is referring is the selfish system of ethics fostered by the followers of Epicurus, Lucretius, de la Rochefoucauld and Hobbes. According to these ethical materialists, man is inherently selfish; his chief goal in life is to satisfy his physical desires, to multiply his pleasures. The so-called social virtues, as a consequence, are not a result of any benevolent impulse, but are merely an indirect means of satisfying selfish desires. Shaftesbury, on the other hand, maintains that man is inherently benevolent, that right conduct is more important than the satisfaction of physical desires, and that the greatest pleasure is the result of natural affection, sociableness, and friendship. Thus, such traits as courage, honesty, and honor are intrinsically valuable and more to be desired than any material goal. They are greater even than life itself, for life without them is the most wretched imaginable. Indeed, "the least step into villainy or baseness changes the character and value of a life."

Perhaps no universities today teach materialism as a philosophy, but the view prevalent in American society that material gain is the ultimate goal of life seems to be, at least as much as any widespread point of view may be, a reflection of university teaching. Certainly, the universities are doing very little to counteract this view or to teach in its place the intrinsic value of discipline and right conduct. The primary motive for most students' entering college still appears to be to acquire knowledge and skills in order to obtain larger incomes than they could otherwise, and many educational institutions compete for students on this basis. How many schools today emphasize discipline and right conduct as

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 82.

among the desirable results of university education? Shaftesbury, however, insists that they should be numbered among the most important, implying that liberal education and common honesty are inseparable. The man, he says, whose education has taught him the fallacy of regarding pleasure and gain as measures of attainment in life understands that honesty transcends fashion or applause, "that worth and merit are substantial, and no way variable by fancy or will; and that honour is as much itself when acting by itself and unseen, as when seen and applauded by all the world." There is certainly need for such a repudiation of ethical materialism today. Even assuming that all eighteenth-century universities taught Hobbes's philosophy, one may well ask whether ethical materialism is more prevalent in modern educational institutions than in those of Shaftesbury's time.

#### IV

The same question may be asked about esthetic materialism, or the neglect of cultural values. To Shaftesbury, true culture is the "sense of what is naturally graceful and becoming." Acquired through "a natural good genius, or the force of good education," this sense comprehends an appreciation of the fine arts: "an ear in music, an eye in painting, a fancy in the ordinary things of ornament and grace, a judgment in proportions of all kinds, and a general good taste in most of those subjects which make the amusement and delight of the ingenious people of the world."<sup>1</sup> Shaftesbury is perhaps the outstanding advocate of taste in English letters and one of the few critics to show the fundamental importance of the fine arts to the university program. He clearly points out the inadequacy of a narrow specialization in either exclusively cultural or exclusively technical subjects, the former leading to pedantry and the latter to inferior virtuosoship. Thus, he expresses regret that in his own day, "the sprightly arts and sciences are separated from philosophy, which consequently must grow dronish, insipid, pedantic, useless, and directly opposite to the real knowledge of the world and mankind."<sup>2</sup>

Seldom has an advocacy of such a balance been more significant

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 215.

than now. Seldom since the time of Dryden and Locke has there been a wider separation of science and the humanities; and seldom has there been such an indifference to the fine arts as that existing among the universities at the present time. The votaries of literature and science take separate roads, combating rather than supplementing each other. The fine arts hover around the fringe of the university circle, more tolerated than welcomed. Education is universally regarded as a means of obtaining a good job rather than good taste. What is worse, the humanities in the universities, as they do appear, are presided over by the pedants and the materialists.

The need for esthetic sense is obvious. A truly liberal education requires some knowledge of the fine arts. As Shaftesbury says, the sense of what is graceful and becoming is closely akin to the moral sense, for the man of taste instinctively realizes the inconsistency between irregular conduct and his standards of the *dulce et decorum*. Liberal education, as Shaftesbury sees it, therefore, is essentially moral.

Perhaps universities in the twentieth century have much to learn from Shaftesbury. Perhaps a fuller recognition of the moral basis of liberal education will prepare for a closer union of science and the humanities and help enfranchise higher education from the tyranny of pedantry. Certainly Shaftesbury's three principal criticisms of university education are worthy of thoughtful attention.

## **"EVERY STUDENT HAS A FACULTY ADVISER"<sup>1</sup>**

**By MERIBETH E. CAMERON**

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The young graduate student who is preparing for a career in college teaching may not anticipate some of the curious by-products of that occupation. As he looks forward to his future, he may imagine a life divided between the acquisition of knowledge and the dispensing of it. Even teaching may appear to him as an inferior activity which society exacts of him as its price for allowing him to pursue pure truth and yet receive a pay check. When he at last enters the profession, he will discover that he is not a priest in the temple of Athena, but a collegiate maid-of-all-work. He will teach—yes. He will do research—if he can find time for it. For after his hours in the classroom are done and his lessons for the next day prepared, the college which he serves will see to it that he is provided with an infinite amount of busywork, by which he may contribute to "the welfare of the college community." By some strange but characteristic academic alchemy, a Ph.D. in classical archaeology may be the passport to membership on the faculty committee on intercollegiate athletics, status as honorary faculty member of the class of 1947, and appointment as one of the group of faculty advisers to freshmen. In this last capacity, the instructor will be endowed with twenty fledglings, to whom he is to be particular guide, philosopher, and friend. Of course, he has hoped for close and friendly relations with students. After all, teaching itself is an advisory function, and any good relationship between instructor and student easily overflows into friendship and consultation on many matters.

However, formal designation as an "adviser" or "counselor" with a definite cure of souls is something else again. It is characteristic of American small colleges, and indeed is one of their proudest

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the catalogue of almost any small American college.

boasts. Read their catalogues and their promotional literature (a rather dismaying injunction!) and you will learn that prospective students are assured that in Martin College or Jones College or Fagin College every student has a faculty adviser who stands to him in *loco parentis*. In the student's upperclass years, this adviser will probably be his major professor, but, as an underclassman who has not yet chosen a "major," the student will be assigned to one of the group of faculty advisers whose task it will be to see him through his freshman and sophomore years. Somewhere in its structure the college probably maintains a dean, who discusses with the faculty advisers the aims of their advisorial activity, signs programs, and is available as a sort of court of last appeal. The dean may even have taken courses in that peculiarly occult branch of study known as "personnel and guidance," and may talk briskly and authoritatively about P.L.R.'s, personality inventories, and aptitude tests. But the dean is one and the students are many, and most small colleges, perhaps wisely, do not attempt to maintain more than one professional "guide to the young." It falls to members of the faculty to give that more personal and intimate counsel of which the college boasts.

The young instructor may be greatly attracted by the prospect of engaging in what some institutions call "life advisement," a term before which even the products of schools for deans should quail. Only a few years ago he was receiving guidance: now he is licensed to give it. His is the great opportunity to save the little members of his flock from the errors into which he fell because of no guidance or guidance of the wrong sort. "My boy, if someone had only told me when I was a freshman. . .!" But is the young instructor qualified to give advice to others on the conduct of their lives, both academic and nonacademic? Does he know the way through the mazes of the requirements which the college has set up? Can he really remember what adults are so often accused of having forgotten—what it is like to be young? Is he too shy of undergraduates to achieve real contact with them or too insensitive to understand their needs? Will his relationship with his advisees be merely formal and social, a matter of approving their academic programs and having them over to tea occasionally, or will he really be the person to whom his advisees will turn for aid



and counsel? If one of his advisees obviously receives more comfort from the advice of some other member of the faculty, will he yield to jealousy and vengefulness? Does he see this business of giving advice as a golden opportunity to display his fascinating personality and to win a student following, or is he properly cautious as to the possible consequences of meddling too strenuously in other people's lives? Will his appointment as an adviser to freshmen be followed by a marked increase in the registration in his classes and those of other members of his department, and if so, why?

Altogether the relationship will be a sovereign test of the instructor's quality as a human being. Whether the young chemist or historian or economist turned counselor will do any particular good is an individual matter, subject to no general prediction. Advising is a natural and suitable adjunct to teaching, but it is one where even angels may well fear to tread. The worthy adviser should be the very embodiment of wisdom and virtue. He should be dispassionate and yet considerate. He should steer a middle course between possessiveness and indifference. He should have no personal academic axe to grind. The welfare of the students whom he counsels should be his only concern. If he falls from these standards, he may do considerable harm. Students are often defenseless in the face of their advisers. They feel that they cannot refuse advice pressed upon them by the faculty. They want good grades, they need faculty recommendations, and they suspect that a faculty member whose advice has been scorned may not possess Olympian detachment in these matters.

## II

Perhaps the fictional tale of Dr. Nathaniel Shaw and his advisee Janet Jamieson will serve to illustrate the moral perils of adviser-ship. When Janet fills out her application for admission to Hansen College she is somewhat at a loss as to how to answer the question, "What subject did you like best in high school?" Actually she has no marked preferences and no definite intellectual interests, but she doesn't like to leave the question blank. After some debate internal she puts down "social studies." It has been easy and



rather entertaining. The Dean's Office at Hansen, searching through Janet's papers for some clue to her interests and talents, seizes on this datum as especially significant and decides that her freshman adviser should be someone from the faculty in social sciences, someone who can watch and nourish this seed of interest. So it happens that Assistant Professor Nathaniel Shaw, who *is* the economics department at Hansen, finds the name of Janet Jamieson on his list of freshman advisees. He looks over the dossier on Janet and he too discovers that promising glimmer of affection for the social sciences. A good missionary can scent a convert miles away. From that moment Shaw is sure that, unless Janet proves to be feeble-minded, Providence has destined her to major in economics at Hansen. Shaw has been at Hansen only a year. He is supposed to "build up" the economics department, which has languished for years. Under these circumstances he privately considers himself very fortunate to have been placed on the board of freshman advisers at the end of his first year. Of course, it's the sort of chore which often falls to younger members of the faculty; some of the older generation have lost touch with undergraduates and are concerned only with weighty affairs of state. But, for a young faculty member with a somnolent department to revive, status as faculty adviser to underclassmen has obvious strategic advantages. There is no more evident way to "build up" a department than to show an impressive list of "majors." Plainly Janet and others like her are destined to aid in this great work. And why not? Shaw would naturally be the last person to doubt the saving grace of economics. He himself majored in it. It is the queen of studies, the answer to the problems of existence, both theoretical and practical. Unfortunately, the curriculum makers of Hansen have not yet appreciated the full beauties of economics and it ranks among the electives, not the requirements. Since that is the case, what the students at Hansen need is good impartial advice in favor of economics. Thank goodness Shaw is a faculty adviser and can see to it that a certain number of malleable young minds are shaped toward truth.

Comes registration day, and Janet Jamieson arrives to work out her program with her adviser, who seems to her to be very nice, good looking and young, and awfully friendly and interested.

Janet feels new and lost. She is very grateful for guidance and will take it. Up to a point the college requirements determine her program for her. She must sign up for English, a laboratory science, history, and a foreign language. But she has room for a fifth subject, an elective. Dr. Shaw suggests economics. Well, why not? Shaw seems nice and it would be good to take a course from him. Economics it is. Janet takes it and gets along in it very well. At the end of her freshman year she has to preregister for her sophomore year. She still has no marked urgings toward any one subject. Indeed, she's a little worried about herself. Maybe there's something wrong with her. Many of the other students seem to know just what they want and are marching along systematically toward their goal. Janet expresses these doubts and worries to her adviser. He comes to her aid. Why not consider a major in economics? There are great opportunities in the field. Janet, who is a fairly observant girl, says that she has always thought that in business the men got the executive jobs and the women the secretarial ones. Oh, but times are changing, Shaw assures her. She has great ability in economics—isn't she doing very well in "Principles"? Anyway, she doesn't have to decide on her major subject until the end of her sophomore year. Why not use her electives in her sophomore program to take two courses in economics and find out whether she really wants to major in it? Janet has some doubts about this proposal, but it is hard for her to rear back and insist that she wants no more economics when she isn't really sure what she does want. She agrees. Later her grades for her freshman year arrive and while in everything else she has earned a "B," in economics she has an "A." In her sophomore year history (or rather, economics) repeats itself. Janet's grades in economics surpass those which she gets in any other subject. Maybe Dr. Shaw is right and economics is her forte. Janet succumbs to persuasion and pressure, and signs up for a major in economics.

Several others of Janet's classmates also yield to Shaw's "affable ways and easy breeding" or to an interest in economics, and elect to major in that field. Shaw can—and does—proudly point out to the administration that whereas upon his arrival there was not a single major in economics and the advanced courses in the subject

perished for lack of takers, now there is a bevy of majors and so many courses in the field have been signed up for that Shaw simply does not see how he can manage them all single-handed. The administration, pleased by Shaw's enterprise (the president thinks he is a coming young man) secures an instructor to divide his time between economics and sociology. With an increase in staff and a system of offering the advanced courses in alternate years, Shaw can now give his advanced students the sort of program they ought to have! You can't have too much of a good thing and economics is a very good thing indeed. The programs of Shaw's majors are filled to the brim with economics courses and the enrolment figures in the department zoom upward. The time will come when members of other departments will grow wary of Shaw and will accuse him of "recruiting," that worst of all the sins of which any other department than one's own can be guilty. The faculty at Hansen may even eventually find it necessary to pass legislation setting a maximum number of credits which a student may earn in his major department. However, that time is not yet, as Janet Jamieson discovers.

In her senior year Janet wants very much to elect a course in the history of art. Her friends have recommended it, she thinks she would get pleasure and profit from it, and she can easily meet the requirements for the degree and still have room for it in her program. She has reckoned without Dr. Nathaniel Shaw. He has just devised a new course, Economics 333, "The Profit Motive in a Changing World," which is what Janet and every other "econ" major is going to take. That it comes at the same hour as the course in the history of European Art which Janet wants does not deter him. He argues with Janet until, as usual, she gives in. He's obviously going to be very annoyed if she persists, and Janet feels that it would be most unwise for her to offend him. After all, he's her major professor, on whose recommendation may well depend her chance for a job. Maybe he is at heart sufficiently objective and disinterested not to be really angry if Janet does what she wants and has a legal right to do, but maybe he's not, and Janet doesn't dare to take a chance. Her senior program, like her junior one, bristles with courses in economics, of which Janet has had a little more than enough by this time. She is beginning to

wonder whether the business world is the place for her. Anyway, it's too late to change her major now. If she does, she will have to take an extra semester, and her family will be very distressed if she doesn't get her degree in four years. In the end, Janet is spared some of the practical consequences of her supineness. She marries soon after leaving college. Of the intellectual effects upon Janet of advisorial pressure and narrowness of program, the less said the better.

Why didn't Janet take her troubles to Dr. Osbert Hughes, Dean of Students? On each registration day he has signed her program after Dr. Shaw has made it out for her. Janet didn't consult with the dean because she was afraid that it wouldn't do much good. She would probably have been told that she majored in economics of her own free will, and that, if she wished to change her major after taking into account the attendant complications, and if the new department of her choice would accept her, she was at perfect liberty to make the shift. That is the law. But Janet already knew the law; her problems were ones that it does not cover. If Janet had been either more aggressive or a more skillful tactician she might have been able to escape from her uncomfortable position. There are plenty of students who take their advice principally from their fellow students and who then beguile even difficult faculty advisers into letting them do what they want. Janet, unfortunately for her, was made of softer and more tractable stuff. Maybe she was wrong in not talking it all over with the dean. The dean is supposed to protect students from neglect or exploitation by their advisers, and there are many cases in which he can help matters. But there are also other instances in which he, too, is blocked by the imponderables of human relationships. He has to live in the closely-knit, intimate world of small college relationships. Let him interfere with the sacred sovereign right of a department to do as it pleases and watch the fireworks! Many a professor has taken it as a personal affront from the dean that his courses have a small registration. The dean is prejudiced against him. Students would flock to his courses if administrative hostility did not stand in the way. This sort of interference with departmental rights must stop! Where is the president? He'll hear about it immediately!

## III

So much for the horrible example. Do many advisers really behave in the manner of Dr. Nathaniel Shaw? Do they cheerfully identify their students' welfare with their own departmental interests? The answer is that some, alas, do. The motives which may move them to this sort of behavior vary. It is often hard to tell whether Nathaniel Shaw and his counterparts are self-deluded or cynical. Perhaps Shaw is guilelessly and sincerely full of the virtues of his field of study and eager to share its delights with as many others as possible. Or perhaps he is a seasoned academic politician, out to build up his department by any means and quite willing to use his advisees as instruments of departmental policy. In either case the situation for the student is much the same and not good. He is being subjected to pressure that he may not know how to resist. The essential evil is not, however, that the student is being advised to do what he does not want to do. His desires may be a very unsound guide to his best education. Let us suppose that Mary Jones does not wish to continue the study of French in college. She says it's a dead language since Hitler took Paris: anyway, everybody's taking Spanish and she has a boy friend in Mexico City. She has had two years of French and two years of Latin in high school. Obviously it would be wise for her to stay by some one language until she can really use it effectively. Her adviser can appreciate that point better than Mary. He may realize that her opposition to French is immature and short-sighted. In a curriculum which allows election in many phases of its program, the student has many difficult choices to make and needs assistance in making them. If Mary's adviser does not point out to her the arguments for continuing with French or Latin, his failure to do so may spring from no more noble motive than easy complaisance and a desire to become well liked by Mary by letting her have her way. Too much pressure, on the other hand, has its evils. Mary probably should continue to take French, but it is hardly healthy if she finally does so for no other reason than fear of faculty disapproval if she refuses.

Somewhere, then, there are fine lines separating legitimate advice to students from undue influence or no advice at all. Some of the faculty members who act as counselors have never realized

the existence of these lines, while others know of them, but wilfully disregard them. Does this mean that the ordinary faculty member should not be an "adviser"? Is he typically bungling or self-seeking? Is the advising of students a science rather than an art, and should the college hasten to put in charge of the situation a corps of professional counselors, armed with tests and charts, neat formulae about human capacities and human behavior, and a wondrous trade vocabulary? Even if the college administration is so inclined, it may not be able to afford this luxury. It wants to give its students individual attention, it has a supply of faculty members who can act as advisers in addition to functioning as teachers, and the budget will not stretch to cover the cost of more than one professional "guide." If so, this may possibly be considered one of the blessings of poverty. Tests and measurements are immensely useful in making a preliminary assessment of the members of a large group, as the armed forces have discovered. In an intimate small college environment they shrink in importance and become secondary and indicative rather than primary sources of information about individuals. The advising of students is an art, not a science, and perhaps the good advisers, like the good teachers, are born, not made.

For there are good faculty advisers, plenty of them. Not all of those who undertake to help students with their academic and personal problems are as nearly unconscious of standards of professional ethics as Nathaniel Shaw. Many students and alumni testify to the honest and helpful counsel which their faculty advisers have given them. Indeed, sometimes between the two, adviser and advisee, there may arise a relationship of real friendliness and respect which is peculiarly fine. The system of faculty advising of students can neither be endorsed nor condemned as a whole. It is good or bad according as the faculty members who take part in it are sincere and objective in their giving of advice, or the reverse. Certainly the profession should have many competent advisers among its membership; where else could one hope to find a higher percentage of individuals possessed of integrity, intelligence, and sympathy? Among those who have acquired much knowledge, surely it is not too much to expect a little human wisdom as well!



## THE INSTRUCTOR PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED

By Tom Burns Haber

Ohio State University

Often as the "instructor problem" has been considered, I believe that full light has never been thrown on one important angle of it. No one will deny that the problem is in a spotlight position at the present time. Hardly an issue of the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors within recent years has been without an article drawing attention to the questions of tenure and promotional standards affecting the status of the college instructor. It is more than likely that he will come in for a large share of attention whenever any serious attempt is made to diagnose and cure the major ills of college administration.

All agree that the instructor's case is a hard one, that something should be done about it. But the upshot usually is that nothing can be done about it because of a mathematical *impasse* which department chairmen lament as loudly as the instructor himself. What is this *impasse*?

Simply this: the individual instructor desires promotion and an advance in salary. But there are many others in his department, with the same ambitious hopes—and the opportunities for promotion are, alas, so few. If in a large department there are, say, five replacements over a four-year period, how can you spread them out among the twenty or more worthy candidates in the instructional staff?

This is the usual defensive question raised by department chairmen. A little reflection will show that this question is really irrelevant, for it is based on the assumption that all candidates under consideration are equally qualified for promotion. This, of course, cannot be true. We have tended to sympathize with the plight of the chairman faced with the problem of dividing five by twenty and have been too prone to agree that, since there is no



satisfactory mathematical solution, any solution he can evolve will have to be accepted. Argument of this kind has always obscured the real question, which is this—How can the department head select the five instructors best qualified for promotion? This is the only pertinent question, and upon his ability to answer it depend the prestige of his office and the morale of his department. If this question were fairly answered in every case, the "instructor problem" would disappear.

## II

But, it may be objected, you are asking for a Utopian ideal. Not at all. I would ask for a very fundamental right: the instructor's right to expect from his immediate superior the consideration any professional or skilled worker in the world's ranks expects in free competition with his fellows. An instructor in his thirties, with his Ph.D. and some years' teaching experience, does not ask for miracles to happen for his especial benefit. He does not expect his department to be enlarged to make room for him. But if room higher up is opened, he has a right to expect that his credentials for promotion be fairly considered.

His experience in living or looking at life in other professions has shown him that where opportunities for advancement occur, if the game is fairly played, the man with the best record is selected. The salesman with the best sales report gets the raise and the larger territory. His department manager may not like him and might prefer to give the hand-up to someone else. But there before him are the figures; and the president of the company and the stockholders are concerned with figures. The department chief knows too that his own position is kept and lost by stress of competition and that just below him there are would-be managers with their eyes on his job. With these things in mind, the wise department manager does not precipitate a "salesman problem"; he gives the promotion to the man who has earned it.

The measurement of an instructor's credentials is not as easy (though vastly more important for many reasons); but it does not require the wisdom of Solomon. Furthermore, it is, by and large, being made easier year by year, as more colleges and universities

provide standards by which an instructor's merit can be objectively judged.

And useful as these specific criteria are, they are not indispensable. Indeed, they were in the minds of most administrators long before they were put on paper. There was a tacit understanding that success in teaching and publication or research stood at the top of the list. Responsible chairmen had so long recognized these two criteria and so obviously patterned their departmental policies upon them that departure therefrom in any quarter was certain to cause trouble. It was where such departure was persistent that the "instructor problem" raised its head—as well it might. And it will not down until it is approached in a spirit of fairness and non-partisanship. Even if the instructor never raised a finger in his own defense, the issue would continue to be a very live one, for conscientious college administrators are becoming more and more aware of its need for solution. This tendency to clarify the chairman's obligation and facilitate his performance of it can be seen everywhere: in special articles in our professional magazines, in resolutions adopted by various educational associations, and in the published transactions of the governing bodies of our universities.<sup>1</sup> Some of these standards are extremely specific, setting up a list of *desiderata*, each with a definite point value, against which a candidate's fitness is to be weighed. Others merely prescribe general requirements. One outstanding purpose is apparent in all: to remove the whole matter of promotion from the fog of caprice and uncertainty and establish it upon an objective basis.

It hardly needs to be said that the official announcement of such a policy, once adopted by an administration, is not tantamount to the settlement of the "instructor problem." The real test comes in its local application—as the real test of good government is to be found in local government. What will the instructor's attitude be? The conscientious teacher will have every reason to welcome the establishment of an objective system. He will find it a means of measuring his progress in the fields of teaching and scholarship.

<sup>1</sup> An excellent discussion of this subject appeared in the April, 1943 *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors: "Suggested Criteria for Academic Promotion," by Dean Lloyd S. Woodburne. The writer calls attention to these four criteria: research, teaching, administrative services, and personal qualities.

He will also discover that it is an equally important measuring stick of his chairman's integrity. The right-minded department head will welcome objective standards because they offer the most practicable and peaceable method of administering the difficult matter of promotion. He has a right to demand some leeway in the application of these standards to the case of each individual instructor; but his responsibility is clear, and he cannot escape censure if he violates the intention of the code. It may be expected that there will always be some who resent the code, who want to keep on playing the game of promotion without posting the rules and allowing no one else to keep score; some will insist on the importance of "incommensurates" and ask for more leeway in individual cases than the whole field covered by the objective requirements. In brief, the integrity of the individual chairman is the final determinant of the confidence which the instructor may have in this or any other promotional system. A chairman hesitating in his allegiance to the objective system of weighing promotional qualifications should bear in mind that, in the long run, a plan is a good plan if it inspires confidence throughout the junior staff, if it brings the whole question of advancement out of hush-hush and pressure politics, if it provides that "the uneven shall be made level, and the rough places plain."

### III

Let us imagine ourselves present at a conference wherein a chairman is explaining to one of his instructors the operation of the objective policy. "There is," the chairman may say, "a chance—a small chance—that during or near the end of your four-year probationary period an opportunity may arise to teach certain advanced courses. We are expecting a certain number of retirements, and have some reason to anticipate an extension in one or two directions. When and if any promotional opportunities arise in the field of your special interests, you are hereby assured that your claims will be given every consideration. Here is the list of requirements against which your credentials will be checked. There is no other requirement. See how well you can measure up."

This prospect no one will call golden, but it is good enough for

the ambitious college instructor. What the young teacher fears is not a long apprenticeship, not the danger of dismissal, but the lack of promotional opportunity. This fighting chance to succeed, this gleam of light at the end of the tunnel, has enough attraction about it to continue to recruit good material to our ranks. After all, who would want an instructor's job in a department where everyone was sure to become a professor in ten years? The offer which our hypothetical chairman makes to his new recruit is good enough. Only there must be no boondoggling about it. Nothing is more destructive to the morale of a department than the long postponement of the promotion of a worthy instructor whom the chairman's prejudice is keeping without the pale. Such a situation, when long aggravated, amounts to an open repudiation of academic standards and makes inevitable the deterioration of the entire staff, to the irreparable harm of the institution and the ideals of our profession.

Faithful adherence to a fair competitive principle of advancement in our profession is of special importance at this particular time, when graduate work is tending to level off or is declining in most colleges. It is from graduate students that our college staffs are recruited. A young instructor soon begins to look about for the stairs. What may he expect from us? It is time that those who are planning the future of our postwar colleges be asking seriously, where are we going to recruit our young teachers? How can we get our fair share of the best minds to serve our college students of tomorrow? Greener pastures, opening in every direction, will compete with ours for the services of the talented and ambitious. What will we have to offer to the young man, five or ten years from now, hesitating between returning to his classroom and yielding to the call to some other profession?

Graduate students, potential teachers in their departments, must be convinced that their departments recognize the close connection between scholarship and the profession of teaching. This principle is in the mind of the most humble instructor, and he is right. One of the primary functions of his superiors is to share and implement this conviction. Our teaching assistants keep a close eye on each other, especially on those who are candidates for promotion. They know when Instructor A and Instructor B are

being considered as successors to Professor X. Their allegiance to their profession cannot easily sustain the shock of witnessing A's credentials thrown into the wastebasket and B promoted "because he was on the inside track." They know too that the fact that B may be able to handle the work of Professor X is insignificant compared with the fact that B obtained his advancement unfairly. After all, the so-called dignities of our profession are really nothing more than the simple rules of fair play, understood by everyone on the team.

With good will and equity on the part of those who have decisions to make, could not the "instructor problem" be solved? It could, as far as any human problem can be. There is, we like to think, in our profession the wisdom that should make such solution possible. Certainly no help can be expected from without. As Professor Phillips D. Carleton, writing on this problem in the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors for December, 1942, puts it: "If the profession is to keep or even attain the dignity which is its due, it must begin to exercise control by its own members." Our best hope, it seems to me, lies in applying strictly the principle of free competition when advancements are to be made to our permanent staff. This is a typically American principle that has a peculiar appeal in these days of our years. No instructor has a right to ask for a better chance. But he has the right to ask for that. If he knew that he was being guaranteed that chance, the "instructor problem" would no longer be a problem.

## WHAT IS STILL LIVING IN THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON<sup>1</sup>

By CARL BECKER

Cornell University

*I believe . . . that there exists a right independent of force.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Many nations have traced their history back to some fabled Golden Age, to the beginning of created things, when, as Hesiod said, men lived like gods, free from toil and grief. Our own history can likewise be traced, through its European origins, back to that mythical time. But we commonly think of it as beginning more recently, somewhat abruptly, in the clear light of day, with the settlement at Jamestown, the landing of the Mayflower, and the founding of Massachusetts Bay colony. Men did not then live like gods, or free from toil and grief; but there were among them men of heroic stature, round whom myths have gathered, and whom we delight, with good reason, to honor. The beginning of our history as an independent nation is still more recent, and still more open to critical inspection, in the still brighter light of the eighteenth century; and yet this is for us still more truly the time of our Golden Age and of our ancestors of heroic stature. Among the founders of the American federal republic (to name only the most distinguished) were Washington, Franklin and John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, Robert Morris and James Wilson, Richard Henry Lee, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. No doubt we are apt to magnify these "Fathers" beyond their just merits. Their just merits are, nevertheless, sufficient, for it would be difficult to find in the history of any other country, or in the history of our own country at any other time, within a single

<sup>1</sup> The Penrose Lecture, delivered before the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, April 22, 1943, in connection with the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. Printed through the courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.



generation, as many statesmen in proportion to the population of equal distinction for learning, probity, and political intelligence. And of these ten men none exhibited these qualities to better advantage or more lasting effect than Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson, like Franklin, attained an international as well as a national eminence. Like Franklin, he was familiar with all of the ideas of his time, contributed something to its accumulated knowledge, and was identified with its most notable activities and events. There was indeed scarcely anything of human interest that was alien to his curious and far-ranging intelligence. Nevertheless, his name is for us inevitably associated with a certain general idea, a certain way of regarding man and the life of man, a certain political philosophy. The word that best denotes that philosophy is democracy. More than any other man we think of Jefferson as having formulated the fundamental principles of American democracy, of what we now like to call the American way of life.

Any significant political philosophy is shaped by three different but closely related influences. The first of these is what Alfred North Whitehead has taught us to call the "climate of opinion"—those fundamental presuppositions which in any age so largely determine what men think about the nature of the universe and what can and cannot happen in it, and about the nature of man and what is essential to the good life. The second influence is more specific: it derives from the particular political and social conflicts of the time, which dispose groups and parties to accept a particular interpretation of current ideas as a theoretical support for their practical activities. The third influence is more specific still: it derives from the mind and temperament of the individual who gives to the political philosophy its ordered literary form. Whatever is original in the philosophy is usually contributed by the individual who gives it this form. Whatever value it has for its own time and place will depend largely on the extent to which it serves to illuminate or resolve the particular political issues of that time and place. But its value for other times and places will depend upon the extent to which the general presuppositions upon which it rests have a universal validity, the extent to which they express some enduring truth about nature and the life of man.



## II

The political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson was not in essentials original with him. It was his only in the sense that he gave to ideas widely accepted at the time and genuinely entertained by him a Jeffersonian form and flavor. Nowhere is this peculiarity of form and flavor more evident than in the famous Declaration of Independence; but Jefferson did not claim that the ideas themselves were in any way novel. Some years later his old friend John Adams, a little irritated (as he was apt to be on slight provocation) by the laudation of Jefferson as the author of the Declaration, protested to Pickering that "there is not an idea in it that was not hackneyed in Congress two years before."<sup>1</sup> To this Jefferson replied that it was not his purpose "to say things which had never been said before, but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject," and to harmonize the "sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right."<sup>2</sup> It was indeed Jefferson's merit, and the high value of the Declaration for his own time, that he expressed in lucid and persuasive form political ideas then widely accepted and thereby provided a reasoned justification for renouncing the authority of the British government. But the Declaration professes to do more than that. In providing the reasons for renouncing the authority of a particular government at a particular time, Jefferson took occasion to formulate the universal principles which, as he thought, could alone justify the authority of any government at any time.

These principles are set forth in a single brief paragraph. We are all familiar with it, having read it or heard it read many times. But it will always, and at no time more than now, bear repeating; and so I will repeat it once more, not exactly as it appears in the Declaration but as Jefferson first wrote it in the original draft.

We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable; that all men are created equal and independent; that from that equal creation they derive rights inherent and inalienable, among which are the

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-56), II, 512.

<sup>2</sup> *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Philadelphia, 1869-71), VII, 304, 407.

preservation of life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government shall become destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

This brief statement contains the substance of Jefferson's political philosophy, which may be reduced to four principles: (1) that the universe and man in it are governed by natural law; (2) that all men are endowed with certain natural and imprescriptible rights; (3) that governments exist to secure these rights; and (4) that all just governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed. These principles, made explicit in our Federal and state constitutions, are still the foundation of the political system which Thomas Jefferson did so much to establish. It is indeed appropriate, therefore, in this memorial year, for us to ask, What is still living in this political philosophy? In order to answer this question, I will break it down into two more specific questions. First, what did Jefferson understand by natural law and natural rights, and what form of government did he think best suited to secure those rights? And, second, to what extent is his conception of rights and of government still valid for our time?

The doctrine of natural law, as it was understood by Jefferson and his contemporaries, was revolutionary only in the sense that it was a reinterpretation, in secular and liberal terms, of the Christian theory of the origin, nature, and destiny of man. As commonly understood in the eighteenth century, it was perhaps never better defined than by the French writer, Volney.

Natural law is the regular and constant order of facts by which God rules the universe; the order which his wisdom presents to the sense and reason of men, to serve them as an equal and common rule of conduct, and to guide them, without distinction of race or sect, towards perfection and happiness.<sup>1</sup>

For Jefferson, as for Volney, God still existed. But for them God

<sup>1</sup> *Oeuvres de Volney* (2d ed., Paris, 1826), I, 249.

the Father of Christian tradition had become attenuated into God the Creator, or First Cause. Having created the world for a beneficent purpose and on a rational plan, the Creator had withdrawn from the immediate and arbitrary control of human affairs into the dim recesses where absolute being dwells, leaving men to work out their own salvation as best they could. But this they could do very well, because the Creator had revealed his purposes, not in Holy Writ but in the open Book of Nature, which all men, in the light of reason, could read and interpret. "Is it simple," exclaimed Rousseau, "is it natural, that God should have gone in search of Moses to speak to Jean Jacques Rousseau?" To Jefferson, as to Volney, it seemed more natural to suppose that God had revealed his purpose in his works, from which it followed that the whole duty of man was progressively to discover the invariable laws of nature and of nature's God and to bring their ideas, their conduct, and their political and social institutions into harmony with them.

From this conception of natural law Jefferson derived the doctrine that all men are created equal and are endowed with certain natural rights. Many otherwise intelligent men have thought to refute Jefferson by pointing out that all men are in fact not equal. With the same ingenuity and poverty of imagination one could refute St. Augustine's doctrine of the brotherhood of man by pointing out that all men are in fact not brothers. St. Augustine would have said that all men are brothers in the sight of God, and Jefferson's doctrine of equality comes to the same thing. All men are equal in the possession of a common humanity, and if they are in fact not equal and have not in fact the same rights and privileges, the highest morality, both for the individual and for society, is to act on the assumption that all men should be accorded, so far as is humanly possible, the same consideration and opportunity. To act on this assumption would be, both for the individual and for society, to do the will of God and to live the good life.

In these respects—in respect to the primary values of life—the natural rights philosophy was essentially at one with the Christian faith; but in respect to the means by which these values might be realized, it differed sharply from current official Christian teaching. It denied that man is naturally prone to evil and error and for that reason incapable, apart from the compulsion of church and state,

of arriving at the truth or living the good life. It affirmed, on the contrary, that men are endowed by their Creator with reason, in order that they may progressively discover that which is true, and with conscience, in order that they may be disposed, in the measure of their enlightenment, to follow that which is good. It was perhaps the dominant quality of Jefferson's mind and temperament, as it was of so many of his contemporaries, to have faith in the dignity and worth of the individual man, and it was for this reason that, in respect to the means for achieving the good life, they relied so confidently upon the negative principle of freedom of the individual from social constraint: freedom of opinion, in order that the truth might prevail; freedom of occupation and of enterprise, in order that careers might be open to talent; freedom from arbitrary political authority, in order that no man might be compelled against his will.

These freedoms were precisely what Jefferson meant by "liberty" as one of the natural rights of man, and it was through the fullest enjoyment of these freedoms that the "pursuit of happiness" would be most likely to result in the greatest happiness for the greatest number of men. And so we arrive at the central idea of the natural rights philosophy as to the proper function of government—the happy idea that the best way to secure the natural rights of men is just to leave them as free as possible to enjoy them, and that no form of government can secure these rights so well as the one that governs least. This idea was so engaging that anyone with an unbounded faith in the natural goodness of men and an equal faith in formal logic could push straight on to the conclusion arrived at by Proudhon—the conclusion that "property is theft," that all governments exist to condone it, and that men will never be free and happy until all governments are abolished.

Fortunately, Jefferson had not sufficient faith either in logic or in the native goodness of men to carry him that far. He had more faith in the goodness of men than some of his contemporaries—more, for example, than John Adams, but less than some others—less, for example, than Samuel Adams or Thomas Paine. He had a logical mind, but logic was not for him "a systematic way," as has been said, "of going wrong with confidence"—not, that is, a dialectical device for manipulating empty concepts in the void in

vain—but a method of reaching sound conclusions on the basis of knowledge and common sense. History and political experience, rather than abstract political speculation, convinced Jefferson that man had been governed too much, and above all too arbitrarily, by kings claiming divine right, and that among the institutions that obscured the native goodness of men by depriving them of equal rights none was less defensible than a hereditary aristocracy enjoying privileges that were unearned and exacting a deference that was unmerited. It seemed to him self-evident, therefore, that men could govern themselves better than kings and aristocrats, whose powers rested upon the accident of birth, could do it for them. Not that the people could govern themselves in perfection or without difficulty. All forms of government had their evils, and the principal evil of popular government, Jefferson said, was “turbulence”; but “weigh this against the oppressions of monarchy, and it becomes nothing.”<sup>1</sup>

### III

Jefferson was thus profoundly convinced that republican government—government by representatives elected by the people—was the best form, because “it is the only form of government that is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind.”<sup>2</sup> But what, in concrete instances, did Jefferson mean by the people, and how was the consent of the governed to be obtained? The people in this sense might mean all the people in the world, or all the people in Virginia, or all the people composing a particular class or sect. Practical statesman that he was, Jefferson took the world, politically speaking, as he found it, divided into groups that by tradition and community of interest regarded themselves, and were commonly regarded, as nations. Such nations might at any time “assume, among the powers of the earth, that equal and independent station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them.” Thus nations as well as individuals had their

<sup>1</sup> *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford (New York, 1892–99), IV, 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 147.

natural rights—the right of national self-determination. But nations are composed of individuals, and individuals necessarily differ in their interests and opinions; and it seemed to Jefferson self-evident that the only practical way of reconciling these differences was by majority vote. Even a monarchy with all of its trappings, or an aristocracy with all of its privileges, if supported by a majority vote, would be a “just government,” because it would rest upon “the consent of the governed.”

The right of national self-determination and majority vote—these were fundamental to all of Jefferson’s ideas about the particular form of government best suited to any country at any time. Not that majority vote conferred upon the majority of the moment any fundamental right not shared by the minority. It was simply a necessary device imposed upon individuals bound by their nature to live together, and aiming to live together with the maximum degree of harmony and good will; and Jefferson justified it by saying that, this law disregarded, “no other remains but that of force, which ends necessarily in military despotism.” There is, of course, no more obdurate problem in political philosophy than the problem of the one and the many, the difficulty being to reconcile the desirable liberties of the individual with the necessary powers of society; and Jefferson was no more successful in solving it than other political philosophers have been. His solution, such as it is, is presented in a letter to Dupont de Nemours, some portions of which I venture to quote, because in it Jefferson states categorically, and perhaps better than anywhere else, the principal tenets of his political faith.

I believe with you that morality, compassion, generosity, are innate elements of the human constitution; that there exists a right independent of force; that the right to property is founded on our natural wants, in the measure with which we are endowed to satisfy these wants, and the right to what we acquire by those means without violating the similar rights of other sensible beings; that no one has a right to obstruct another exercising his faculty innocently for the relief of sensibilities made a part of his nature; that justice is the fundamental law of society; that the majority, oppressing an individual, is guilty of a crime, abuses its strength, and by acting on the law of the strongest breaks up the founda-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* X, 89.



tions of society; that action by the citizens in person, in affairs within their reach and competence, and in all others by representatives, chosen immediately, and removable by themselves, constitutes the essence of a republic; that all governments are more or less republican in proportion as this principle enters more or less into their composition; and that government by a republic is capable of extension over a greater surface of country than any other form.<sup>1</sup>

In this passage, as in most of Jefferson's political writings, we can note the disposition to believe that man is naturally good but that men are prone to evil; or, translating it into political terms, that citizens in the mass are to be trusted but that citizens elected to office need to be carefully watched. I have quoted Jefferson as saying that the chief evil of republican government is "turbulence," but he did not really think so. On the contrary, he believed that a little turbulence now and then would do no harm, since it would serve to remind elected officials that their authority was merely a franchise from the people. What Jefferson really believed is that political power is inherently dangerous and that the chief evil of any form of government is to have too much of it. From this it followed that the chief aim in devising a republican government should be to disperse power among magistrates, separate it in respect to function, and otherwise to limit it by applying the grand negative principle of checks and balances. Jefferson agreed with Thomas Paine that whereas society is the result of our virtues government is the result of our vices and is therefore a necessary evil: necessary, in order to preserve order, protect property, and guarantee contracts; an evil, because inherently prone to magnify its authority and thereby impair the liberties of the individual.

Jefferson's ideal of a democratic society was best realized in a small agricultural community, such as he was familiar with at Monticello, composed of a few men of substance and learning, such as himself and his friend James Madison, and otherwise chiefly of industrious, upstanding yeoman farmers, making altogether a community of good neighbors in which everyone knows who is who and what is being done and who is doing it. The affairs of such

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 24.



a community, being easily within the "reach and competence" of the people, could be easily managed by them with the minimum of officials, exercising the minimum of authority, and attended with the minimum of palaver and ceremonial display. Unfortunately, this ideal community could not live to itself, and in managing the affairs of the larger area it was necessary for the people to act through representatives. This departure from the ideal was the beginning of danger, but there was no help for it except to prepare in good time by electing the representatives for very short terms and limiting their power to very specific matters.

The general principle would then be that the wider the area the less safe it would be to intrust representatives with power; and from this principle it followed that representatives from the counties to the state capital of Virginia could be safely intrusted with more power than could be safely intrusted to representatives from Virginia to Philadelphia. That the states must remain united Jefferson fully realized; but he was convinced that they should retain their sovereign powers, and at first the Articles of Confederation seemed to him very nearly the ideal form for such a union. When experience proved that a "more perfect union" was necessary, he approved of the Constitution of 1787 but insisted, as a safeguard against too much power in the hands of a government far removed from the people, that a bill of rights should be incorporated in the Constitution, and that the powers therein granted to the Federal government should be strictly and narrowly interpreted.<sup>1</sup> As it happened, Jefferson's grasp of international political realities was destined to override this principle. He pushed through the purchase of Louisiana, in spite of the fact that in doing so he was exercising an authority which he believed he did not possess.<sup>2</sup> That perverse circumstances should have made Thomas Jefferson the man to usurp power from the people is ironical enough, and it troubled his political conscience not a little; but he could console himself with the reflection that he had tried, although in vain, to get an amendment to the Constitution to authorize the act and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* V, 41-42, 45, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Jefferson's views are given in a letter to Robert R. Livingston, April 18, 1802 (*Ibid.*, VIII, 143), in which he makes the much quoted statement about "marrying ourselves to the British fleet and nation." The reasons given by Jefferson for uniting with the British fleet and nation are as valid today as they were in 1802.

that in any case his conscience was clear, since he had acted solely for the public good.

Closely associated with Jefferson's fear of the open usurpation of political power was his fear of the secret and more insidious influences by which men become debased and corrupted. Republican government, he was well aware, could not be very successful unless the majority of the citizens were independent, honest, and reasonably intelligent. Intelligence could be sufficiently trained and directed by education—schools for the people and colleges for the leaders. But honesty and independence depended less upon precept than upon the conditions in which men lived. The best conditions were those of country life. "Cultivators of the earth," Jefferson said, "are the most virtuous citizens." Vice, he thought, flourished chiefly in cities and in industrial communities which produce cities. In cities, where most people are unacquainted with each other, unscrupulous men could push their selfish interests under cover of the general indifference; and industrial communities, making so much use of impalpable and evanescent forms of wealth, opened the door to speculation for unearned profit, encouraged greed, and rewarded useless luxury: provided all the conditions, in short, for the rise of a corrupt and politically influential "money power." Jefferson regarded commerce and industry as necessary adjuncts to agriculture, but he had the farmer's settled antipathy to banks. "The exercise, by our own citizens, of so much commerce as may suffice to exchange our superfluities for our wants," he cautiously admitted, "may be advantageous to the whole"; but he was convinced that it would be fatal for us "to become a mere city of London, to carry on the commerce of half the world at the expense of waging eternal war with the other half." Capital invested in agriculture or useful industry was productively employed; but "all the capital employed in paper speculation is barren and useless, producing, like that on a gaming table, no accession to itself." And as for banks, they "are a blot left in all our constitutions, which, if not removed, will end in their destruction."<sup>1</sup> Jefferson was never weary of pointing to England as the most striking example of a country losing its freedom by the unchecked multiplication of such evils, and he was convinced that

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 279; X, 28, 34.

the United States would suffer the same loss if it did not profit in time by that example.

Such in brief was the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson—his conception of human rights and of the form of government best suited to secure these rights. What then is still living in this political philosophy? To what extent is his conception of rights still valid for us? To what extent is the form of government recommended by him well adapted for securing the rights, whatever they are, that need to be secured in our time?

#### IV

Any comprehensive study of Jefferson and his writings is apt, sooner or later, to leave one with the impression that he was more at home in the world of ideas than in the world of men and affairs. He had little of Franklin's zest for life in the rough, little of his genial, tolerant acceptance of men as they are, and none of his talent for being comfortable in crowds, or of hobnobbing on equal terms with persons of every station, from kings to scullions in the kitchen. Jefferson was a democrat by intellectual conviction but by training and temperament a Virginia aristocrat—a man of cultivated tastes and preferences, with an aversion from all that is crude and boisterous, vulgar and passionate, in human intercourse. It may be said that he felt with his mind, as some people think with the heart. John Adams said that Jefferson's writings were characterized by "a peculiar felicity of expression."<sup>1</sup> They were indeed—perhaps a little too much so. In reading Jefferson's writings one feels that it would be a relief to come now and then on a hard, uncompromising, passionate sentence, such as: "As for me, give me liberty or give me death!" What we expect to find is rather: "Manly sentiment bids us die freemen rather than live as slaves." Jefferson's ideas were also characterized by a peculiar felicity, and also perhaps a little too much so. One feels that they come a little too easily to birth and rest a little precariously on the ideal aspirations of good men and not sufficiently on the harsh, brute facts of the world as it is. Jefferson was no visionary, and on occasions, such as the purchase of Louisiana, he exhibited a

<sup>1</sup> *Works of John Adams*, II, 514.

remarkable grasp of political realities. But it was entirely characteristic of him that, in respect to the Embargo, he should have taken the position that since our rights were in principle equally violated by England and France, they should be impartially defended against both countries, although England alone was in fact able to do us any material injury; equally characteristic that the high aim of his policy was to defend our rights by humane and peaceful methods, and the signal effect of it to inflict more material injury on the United States than on either of the countries by which its rights had been violated. One often feels that if there had been a little more humane sentiment and a good deal more passion in Jefferson's make-up, he would have been an out and out non-resistance pacifist. As it is, he presents us with the anomaly of a revolutionist who hated violence and a President of the United States who was disconcerted by the possession of political power.

If Jefferson was more at home in the world of ideas than in the world of men and affairs, it follows that, as a political philosopher, he was a better judge of ends than of means. In all that relates to the fundamental values of life, for the individual and for society, in all that relates to the ideal aims which the democratic form of government aims to realize, his understanding was profound. But in respect to the means, the particular institutions by which these values and ideal aims may be realized, he was often at fault, if not for his own time at least for ours; and when he was at fault he was so partly because he conceived of society as more static than it really is and partly because he conceived of American society as something that might remain predominantly agricultural and with relatively simple institutional devices be kept isolated in a relatively arcadian simplicity. But Jefferson's chief limitation as a political philosopher (and in fairness to him it should be remembered that it was the limitation of most political philosophers of his time) was that he was unduly influenced by the idea that the only thing to do with political power, since it is inherently dangerous, is to abate it. He failed to appreciate sufficiently the hard fact that political power always exists in the world and will be used by those who possess it; and as a consequence of this failure he was too much concerned with negative devices designed to obstruct the use of political power for bad ends and not sufficiently concerned

with positive devices designed to make use of it for good ends.

This gives us then our general answer. In respect to fundamentals—the nature of human rights and the form of government best suited to secure them—Jefferson's philosophy is still valid for us; in respect to particular political forms and policies, much of it is now outmoded. In elaborating this general answer I can touch only on the main points.

None of Jefferson's ideas is so irrelevant to our needs as that concerning cities and industrial communities, not because there is not much truth in what he has to say about them but because his hope that the United States might remain a predominantly agricultural society was entirely misplaced. During Jefferson's time there was occurring a revolution of which he was unaware, or the significance of which he at all events entirely failed to grasp. I refer, of course, to the Industrial, or more properly the Technological, Revolution, brought about by the discovery of steam power, electricity, and radiation. It was one of the two or three major revolutions in the history of civilization, since by giving men an unprecedented control over material things it transformed, within a brief span of years, the relatively simple agricultural societies of the eighteenth century into societies far more complex and integrated and at the same time far more mobile and swiftly changing than any ever known before—formidable, blank-faced Leviathans that Thomas Jefferson would have regarded as unreal, fantastic, and altogether unsuited to liberty and equality as he understood those terms. That Jefferson did not foresee this momentous revolution is no discredit to him: no one in his time foresaw it more than dimly. But the point is that these are the societies in which we live and in connection with which we have to reconsider the nature of human rights and the institutions best suited to secure them; and it is now clear that Jefferson's favorite doctrine of *laissez faire* in respect to economic enterprise, and therefore in respect to political policy also, can no longer serve as a guiding principle for securing the rights of men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The doctrine of *laissez faire*, as it was understood by Jefferson and the social philosophers of the early nineteenth century, rested upon the assumption that if each individual within the nations,

and each nation among the nations, was left as free as possible to pursue its own interest, something not themselves, God or Nature, would do whatever else was necessary for righteousness; or, better still, as Professor Carr puts it in his recent book the assumption that from the unrestrained pursuit of individual self-interest a "harmony of interests" would more or less automatically emerge.<sup>1</sup> In the political realm this meant that the function of government should be confined in principle to the protection of life and property, the guaranteeing of contracts, the preservation of civil order, and the defense of the country against aggression. In the economic realm it meant that the free play of individual initiative, stimulated by the acquisitive instinct, would result in the maximum production of wealth, and that the competitive instinct, functioning through the price system, would result in as equitable a distribution of wealth as the qualities and defects of men permitted. In the international world it meant that the promotion of its own interest and power by each sovereign state would tend to create a balance of power and of interests which would serve, better than any other system, to promote commercial exchanges and cultural relations and to preserve the peace.

It is now sufficiently clear that the doctrine of *laissez faire*—of letting things go—however well adapted it may have been to the world in which Jefferson lived, is not well adapted to the world in which we live. In a world so highly integrated economically, a world in which the tempo of social change is so accelerated and the technological power at the disposal of corporations and governments is so enormous and can be so easily used for anti-social ends—in such a world the unrestrained pursuit of individual and national self-interest results neither in the maximum production or the equitable distribution of wealth, nor in the promotion of international comity and peace, but in social class conflicts and in total and global wars so ruthless as to threaten the destruction of all interests, individual and national, and even the foundations of civilized living. In such a world the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness can be secured, not by letting things go and trusting to God or Nature to see that they go right but in deciding beforehand where they ought to go and doing what

<sup>1</sup> Edward H. Carr, *The Conditions of Peace* (Toronto, 1942), p. 105.



is desirable and possible to make them go there. The harmony of interests, if there is to be any, must be deliberately and socially designed and deliberatively and cooperatively worked for. To bring this harmony of interests to pass is now the proper function of government; and it will assuredly not be brought to pass by any government that proceeds on the assumption that the best government is the one that governs least.

The history of the United States during a hundred years past confirms this conclusion and thereby refutes Jefferson's idea that the several states should retain their sovereign powers, and that the powers of the Federal government should be strictly and narrowly interpreted. Decade by decade the states have lost their sovereign powers, and the Federal government, by virtue of a liberal interpretation of the Constitution and of amendments to it, has assumed the authority to pass legislation limiting the activities of some individuals in order to secure the rights of others. This expansion of power and enlargement of function has been brought about, in spite of the inertia of traditional ideas and the pressure of interested groups, by the insistent need of regulating the activities of great corporations which, although in theory private enterprises, are in fact public utilities, and thereby possess irresponsible power which they are sometimes unwilling but more often unable to use for the public good. It is in respect to this situation that the engaging word "liberty" emerges in a guise unknown to Jefferson and his contemporaries. In his time the most obvious oppressions, for the majority of men, were the result of arbitrary governmental restrictions on the activities of individuals, so that liberty could be most easily conceived in terms of the emancipation of the individual from governmental constraint. But in our time the development of free economic enterprise has created a situation in which the most obvious oppressions, for the majority of men, arise not from an excess of governmental regulation but from the lack of it, so that in our time liberty can be understood only in terms of more and more intelligently designed supervision of free economic enterprise. Jefferson and his contemporaries, as James Bryce has well said, "mistook the pernicious channels in which selfish propensities had been flowing for those propensities themselves, which were sure to find new channels when the old had

been destroyed."<sup>1</sup> The selfish propensities with which we have to deal are the same as those with which Jefferson and his contemporaries had to deal, but since the channels—the particular institutions and customs—through which they flow are different, the remedies have to be different also.

In this respect—in respect to the proper function of government—the political philosophy of Jefferson is now outmoded. But this is after all the more superficial aspect of Jefferson's philosophy, and if we turn to its more fundamental aspects—to the form of government as distinct from its function, and to the essential rights to be secured as distinct from the particular institutional forms for securing them—we find that Jefferson's political philosophy is as valid for our time as it was for his.

## V

Jefferson was profoundly convinced that the best form of government was the republican—that is, government by elected representatives—because it was the only form, as he said, that “is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind.” The form of government which Jefferson did so much to establish still exists, essentially unchanged; and today we accept it with even less qualification and divided loyalty than obtained in Jefferson's time. We accept it for many reasons, no doubt—because it has on the whole worked so well, because we have become habituated to it, and because there is in our political tradition no model for any other form. But we also accept it for the same reason that Jefferson accepted it—because we are profoundly convinced that it is the one form of government that is not at war with the rights of mankind, or at all events with those familiar rights and privileges which we regard as in some sense natural, because from long settled habit they seem to us so imprescriptibly American.

Recent events have greatly strengthened this conviction. Twenty years ago we were in a mood to ask whether the representative system of government might not be, if not at open, at least too often at secret, war with the rights of mankind. That

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Democracies* (New York, 1921), I, 49.

was the result of comparing the democratic practice with the democratic ideal, with the inevitable if perhaps salutary effect of magnifying the defects and minimizing the virtues of democratic government as a going concern. But for ten years past now we have been permitted, have indeed been compelled, to reappraise democratic government in the light, not of the ideal, but of the practical alternative as presented for our admiration in Germany and elsewhere. And the result of this reappraisal has been to convince us that the defects of our system of government are, in comparison, trivial, while its virtues are substantial. Indeed the incredible cynicism of Adolf Hitler's way of regarding man and the life of man, made real by the servile and remorseless activities of his bleak-faced, humorless Nazi supporters, has forced men everywhere to re-examine the validity of half-forgotten ideas and to entertain once more half-discarded convictions as to the substance of things not seen. One of these convictions is that "liberty, equality, fraternity," and the "inalienable rights" of men are phrases, glittering or not, that denote realities—the fundamental realities that men will always fight and die for rather than surrender.

In defense of these rights and of our democratic form of government, we are now fighting a desperate war; and in justification of our action we are advancing the same reasons that Jefferson proclaimed—that the democratic form of government is the one best adapted to secure the inalienable rights of man. We may be less sure than Jefferson was that a beneficent intelligence created the world for man's special convenience. We may think that the laws of nature, and especially the laws of human nature, are less easily discovered than he supposed. We may have found it more difficult to define the natural rights of man and to secure them by simple institutional forms than he anticipated. Above all, we may have learned that human reason is not quite so infallible an instrument for arriving at the truth as he supposed it to be and that men are less amenable to rational persuasion. Nevertheless, in essentials Jefferson's political philosophy is our political philosophy; in essentials democracy means for us what it meant for him.

Democracy is for us, as it was for him, primarily a set of values, a way of regarding man and the life of man. It is for us, as it was for him, also a set of concrete institutions through which these

values may be realized. We now realize, as he did, but rather better than he did, that the institutional forms are bound to change: they have changed since Jefferson's time, they are changing now, and they will change still further in time to come. But we may believe, as Jefferson did, that the values themselves are enduring; one reason for believing so being the fact that the values we cherish are the same as those which Jefferson proclaimed and the same as those which for more than two thousand years the saints and sages of the world have regarded as the ideal aim and ultimate test of civilized living. If we were to write a Declaration of the modern democratic faith, it might run somewhat as follows:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that the individual man has dignity and worth in his own right; that it is better to be governed by persuasion than by force; that fraternal good will is of greater worth than a selfish and contentious spirit; that in the long run all values, both for the individual and for society, are inseparable from the love of truth and the disinterested search for it; that the truth can be discovered only in so far as the mind of man is free; that knowledge and the power it gives should be used for promoting the welfare and happiness of all men rather than for the selfish interests of those individuals and classes whom intelligence and fortune have endowed with a temporary advantage; and that no form of government yet invented is so well adapted to realize these high ends as one that is designed to be a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

To this declaration of the modern democratic faith Thomas Jefferson would subscribe, I feel sure, without qualification. And it is in this sense, the most important sense of all, that his philosophy, and still more the humane and liberal spirit of the man himself, abides with us, as a living force, to clarify our purposes, to strengthen our faith, and to fortify our courage.

## I CAME TO WASHINGTON

By JOSEPH A. KERSHAW

Office of Price Administration

In the April issue of the *Bulletin* Technical Sergeant Willis Dana Jacobs addresses the academic profession and appeals to teachers, in moving language, to keep the faith.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jacobs is a member of a Bombardment Group. He left a teaching position to enter the Army, and his letter was written a few hours before his departure for a combat zone. Mr. Jacobs urges teachers to maintain their spirit, to stick to their jobs; teaching, he says, "is the most urgent and far-reaching job of all."

I, too, was a college professor. Unlike Mr. Jacobs, I am not in the Army—yet. But neither am I still on the campus. Like many another member of my craft, I came to Washington.

There are thousands of us here, of course. We are not so numerous as Congress would have you think, but former members of any sizable graduate school or of almost any faculty can get up a decently attended picnic without much trouble. Professors are scattered through all the agencies, old and new, in all the ranks from those near the top to the ones close to the bottom. A great many of us have left the theoretical research jobs we originally came to Washington to perform, and now we are engaged in administrative positions of greater or less responsibility. Our decisions have an appreciable effect on the daily lives of the American people.

What is it like to work for the government? What effect has our experience upon us as men and as teachers? Shall we be going back to the campuses after the war? Thousands of college professors, in and out of the colleges, are wondering about these questions. As one who is not an important member of the Administration, but whose rôle in the wartime scheme of things is

<sup>1</sup> "Teachers, Keep the Faith! A Letter to the Profession," April, 1943 *Bulletin* pages 229-232.

not insignificant either, it occurred to me that those who have not taken the bait may be interested in knowing what it's like to be a bureaucrat.

## II

I came to Washington after six and one-half years of teaching theoretical economics in a small liberal arts college. In December of 1941 I decided to see for myself what all this hullabaloo about "the need for trained economists in government" really amounted to. As fate would have it, just as I drove into the Capital the radio in my car brought me the President's request to Congress for a declaration of war on Germany.

Washington, it seemed, had a place for me. Each of the five persons to whom I had letters offered me a job. I could become a chemical expert, a consumers' durable goods expert, a steel expert, a tax researcher, or a general price researcher. This last offer appealed to me, particularly since if I accepted I should not have to wait 42 days while a new building was erected so I could have a place to sit down. I drove back to college to finish the term, horribly uncertain as to just what this new life held. Washington had been in such a hurry, and its only familiar sight was the ever-present brief case. Anyway, I thought, I was to be in research. This seemed the proper place for a theorist.

On January 18, 1942 I sat down to work. Three months later I was itching to get, as we used to say, closer to things—to find a place where I could feel that what I did was a more direct contribution to the business of getting on with the war. I transferred from my so-called old-line agency to the Office of Price Administration, where rationing was shortly to be changed from a neglected theory to an exceedingly practical and important factor in the life of every civilian. At first my new duties, like the old, were principally to do research. Very shortly, however, the research job in OPA developed into a project which needed administrative supervision. Research began to fade into the background; the character of my responsibilities began to change. My task now was to direct a staff, to make decisions which actually had an effect on the people and the economy, and to make speeches or



consult with businessmen. This transition from theoretical research to full-fledged membership in the bureaucracy had been made in somewhat less than half a year. The same pattern was followed by many other professors, although some stepped from the colleges directly into administrative positions.

### III

What is it like? How does a theorist fit into a job which requires doing things and defending them—against pressure groups, Congress, industry, the public, fellow workers? As might be expected, it is a combination of thrills and headaches. The thrills come from being able to participate in formulating a program that will affect millions of Americans and to watch the plan put into practice. I shall never forget the day last January when our little project went into operation. Even now I feel excited just to think about its far-reaching implications. The sense of accomplishment is great and satisfying—an idea was born, developed, and put into practice on a broad scale; and it worked! The war economy functions more smoothly for the effort that went and continues to go into the development and operation of this project. That is the good side of things: in those terms the retrospect is gratifying, the future challenging.

This is the credit side, but every credit has its debit. The academician in government, I think, is rather acutely aware of the need to do a good job: to benefit society, if he can, and to cause the smallest possible amount of ill will. And the quickest lesson learned in Washington is that, no matter what is done, any positive action antagonizes at least a small percentage of the people. Now a small percentage of the American people is a lot of people. They write, they call, they telegraph, and their Congressmen profit by their example. This is not pleasant. It hurts to be accused, as we are accused, of bias, of lack of interest in certain groups, of outright intent to harm individuals or groups. These accusations get to be daily occurrences, but protective callouses simply do not form. In the classroom we used to take it for granted that what improved the social welfare, even at the expense of a small number of individuals, was worth doing. It is quite a different

thing to explain this to a group of the very individuals who are being hurt.

Also on the debit side of the ledger is the public pressure under which we are forced to work. In the first place we are forever being investigated, and the newspapers are forever firing us. My boss—he's a professor too—gets fired at least once a week in the newspapers. By now, of course, we are pretty much used to all this, but it is not conducive to peace of mind. In the old days I used to teach that one of the compensations for the low salaries in Civil Service was the security enjoyed by those fortunate enough to become civil servants. I've changed my notes for that lecture. For many former college professors Civil Service salaries are not low, and security is not always one of the blessings a Civil Service appointee may count.

Pressure of time is also constantly upon us. Everything has to be done in a hurry and there are both too few and too many people to deal with. There are too few people to do the work and too many who have to be informed and asked for opinions—lawyers, publicity experts, forms experts, budget experts. This all means interminable conferences and arguments and irritating delays. Unexpected obstacles are always arising, demanding diplomatic telephone calls or even new conferences. The result is that we are always pressed for time because all those interests just can't be budged until an absolute deadline is upon us.

The pressure operates in another way too. We are, as you know, "bureaucrats." With the newspapers commenting acidly in every edition on how we covet personal power and how we use it arbitrarily and always without reason, it is difficult to keep the idea in mind that we are also servants of the people and as such need not hang our heads in shame. Congress is only a few blocks away and sometimes the members almost convince us that we actually are draft-dodgers. And of course there is always the possibility that a Congressional Committee may dig up the fact that we once danced well, or visited Russia, or ate crackers in bed.

These pressures are heavier on us than on our colleagues who have spent some time in business and thus are "practical." In the opinion of our critics, that we have studied the economic system is proof enough that we cannot possibly *know* anything about it.

We joke about these things among ourselves, but they cannot be laughed off completely. They have an effect on our morale. After all, most of us came here with a sincere desire to do our share, and it is not pleasant to have our motives and efficiency questioned daily in print.

#### IV

What does it all add up to? The two obvious questions are, am I glad I came, and do I want to go back to teaching when it's all over? The answer to the first question is a categorical yes. The sense of participation in the war effort is gratifying and the utterly different sort of experience is valuable. In giving these answers, I am aware that faculty life is no longer the same and may never be the same as in pre-war days, and that any comparison between campus and government agency therefore is dangerous.

The second question is more difficult to answer: do I want to go back to Academia? I think the answer is yes, but I am not sure. When I think of returning, I know I miss my tennis games in the summer and our casual gatherings at five o'clock every Friday the year 'round. I miss the leisure of a college campus, the frequent holidays, the generous summer vacations. I've had just three days' vacation in the last twenty months, and as for holidays we have Christmas Day every year. I miss the respect of students (no one is respected or respectful in Washington), the afternoons free if I prefer to work evenings, the luxury of intellectual pursuit. I still see the *American Economic Review*, but its book reviews are painful to me because I know I shall not find time to read the books. Keeping up with the *New Yorker* magazine, necessary to retain one's sanity, and an occasional Saroyan constitute the sum of my non-occupational reading for the last twenty months.

What if I do not return to the campus? Perhaps my uncertainty about my return is accounted for by a fear that when the rush for the campus develops with the peace, there will not be a place which is entirely to my liking. We are all pretty constantly aware of that possibility. But there is something more. There is the awareness that in peacetime Uncle Sam must be a pleasant sort of fellow to work for. Civil Service is not by any means totally unlike teach-

ing. It offers a fairly leisurely pace, I imagine, and work which can be interesting, and association with stimulating people. The notion, generally held, that all career bureaucrats are dull is as erroneous as the notion that all faculty members are intellectually alert. Perhaps the most honest answer to the question is that I am sure I should like teaching as much as ever. But teaching now has a competitor.

## NOTE CONCERNING "INTEGRATION"

By DOUGLAS G. HARING

Syracuse University

Not all the sounds of battle proceed from the engagements against the Axis. Some of them issue from academic halls where faculties debate "postwar education." One intelligible sound amid the melee is the oft-repeated word, "integration"—or its comrade in arms, "unification."

The assumption that students must be provided with a unified view of knowledge involves fallacies. Especially fallacious is the idea that this unified view should be delivered through a course designed to "integrate" what they learn.

No one finds unity in his world except as he achieves unity in his own personality. The supposed unity of the world is a rationalization of the thinker's own feelings. Inner integration is emotional and deeply organic—an intellectual symbolization of one's biological unity. Intellectual oneness cannot be prepared in advance and presented to students. Such procedure merely offers another course to be skimmed and passed. Educators still ape the homeopaths, who sought to cure the patient's symptoms by administering incredibly dilute doses of whatever drug would produce those symptoms in a well person. One more course—diluted at that—is a conventional answer to any educational problem. Integration, however, cannot be taught. The student may be given the materials. He must do his own integrating. The prerequisites to intellectual integration are: mastery of some worthy intellectual activity, and range of knowledge.

Emotional unification in personality is rationalized and becomes manifest in intellectual integration of materials previously learned. This achievement is contingent upon maturity. It finds in normal adjustments to people and in meditation on personal experience. College students rarely are sufficiently mature for such achievement. And meditation is not a folkway of Americans.

Many persons do not attain intellectual integration. Those who do so require plenty of time, normal minds, and normal social adjustments.

Insistent demands for unification of learning and for perception of the interrelations of knowledge are rationalizations of a desire to subdue the universe to one's ego. Systems of thought—philosophical, sociological, political, or economic—emerge in unsocialized egos rather than from inductive research. Better than providing systems of thought for students is education that faces the impossibility of mastering all knowledge. Humility in the face of inescapable human limitations is preferable to tailor-made dogma.

If (one) is able to free himself of compulsion to explain humanity, he ceases the self-centered quest to circumscribe all knowledge within his personal mental compass, admitting that there is much that he does not know; he is freed likewise of the self-imposed obligation to classify and condemn or approve various . . . theories . . . . Prerequisite to objective study . . . is that catholicity of mind which willingly examines the kinds of behavior that human beings may exhibit—even the behavior of scientists and philosophers—and admits tranquilly that one cannot possibly know all about it, or know all that men have known or do know about it. In such unurgent mood he may be able to arrive at a measure of understanding and to contribute to human well-being.<sup>1</sup>

Some teachers protest against specialization "prior to grasping the relations of knowledge." If heeded consistently, this advice would preclude all specialization. The relations of knowledge are discovered as knowledge is acquired. In proportion as one's intellectual range becomes more profound and more specific, the interrelations of phenomena are apprehended. Mastery in any field leads into every other field of knowledge. Mastery of a generous minimum of facts must precede discovery of the interrelations of knowledge.

Nor is integration of all human knowledge a desirable goal. Discussions of the idea generally assume a self-consistent universe in which every item of observation is related ultimately to every other item. Thus far such an assumption remains tenable with

<sup>1</sup> D. G. Haring and M. E. Johnson, *Order and Possibility in Social Life*, New York, 1940, p. 574.



respect to the observable "natural" universe. Man, however, creates a universe of ideas which may or may not be self-consistent. More accurately, he creates many such universes and some of them are incompatible with others. Certain fallacious philosophies that now bedevil government and human happiness involve the attempt to force these diverse cultural worlds into the patterns of a self-consistent "natural" world. For example, the findings of physics are applied by analogy to human societies in hope of creating "social engineering." So-called social engineering depends on formulas intellectually conceived, not discovered scientifically. The attempt to achieve unity in man's thought-world is futile unless that thought-world be narrowed to a single dogmatic system. One may attain insight into diverse systems of thought, but they may not be integrated. The emotional bias in favor of a single authoritarian system of thought lends force to many a demand that the college curriculum guide the student to an "integrated realization of the interrelationships of knowledge."

In other words:

Make sure students have something to integrate.

Leave the actual integration to their own attainment of maturity.

Don't expect to unify the diverse cultural worlds that man has created for his own amusement, comfort, or edification.

## FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURNS IN 1944

For the years 1943 and 1944 the American people will pay the largest income tax ever exacted over a like period in this country, and they will find the returns of 1943 income to be made in 1944 complicated beyond any with which the Federal Treasury has had previously to confront them. More taxpayers must file returns than ever before in our history. Consequently the task of the Bureau of Internal Revenue is sure to be enormously increased, and this at a time when the Bureau staff has been greatly depleted by war demands and other causes. It is the duty of every citizen to help in this very genuine emergency by striving to teach himself the general plan of income taxation, and to understand the particular problems of his own return so that it shall be accurately made out and promptly filed. This duty rests most emphatically upon people of intelligence and education.

### Sources of Information

The statement on Federal income tax returns published in this *Bulletin* for December, 1942 explained that it was then difficult for the ordinary taxpayer to obtain full information about preparation of the pending return without consulting numerous sources, some of them not readily available to him. In this respect, the situation for 1944 is more favorable. Treasury and Bureau officials have labored particularly hard over the current return forms and the instruction sheets accompanying them. Moreover, new income tax regulations have lately appeared. These are designated Treasury Regulations 111. They were first published in three installments in the Federal Register of November 3, 4, and 5, 1943, which issues may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at 20, 30, and 20 cents, respectively, per copy. Regulations 111 will ultimately appear in book form, and can then be had from Collectors of Internal Revenue as well as

from the Superintendent of Documents, but the Treasury Department has stated that the date of issue will be January 15, 1944, or later. The price has not been announced at the date of writing.

Regulations 111 has been reprinted by Commerce Clearing House, Inc., which maintains offices in the Empire State Building, New York City, at 214 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, in the Munsey Building, Washington, and in other large cities, the reprint costing \$2.00 per copy. This same publisher also reprints the income, estate, and gift tax portions of the Internal Revenue Code at \$2.00 per copy. Prentice-Hall, Inc., another large and reliable publisher of tax information, with headquarters at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and many local offices spread over the country, also reprints in separate pamphlets Regulations 111 and relevant provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. Each of these two pamphlets costs \$2.00. The Prentice-Hall reprint contains a number of chapters from the Code not contained in the Commerce Clearing House reprint. Both reprints are complete with respect to income, estate, and gift taxes.

One advantage of dealing with the private publishers instead of the Superintendent of Documents is that a commercial house usually makes quicker deliveries than does the overburdened Government Printing Office. Also some of the private reprints contain useful explanatory text not published by the government. On the other hand, the official book-form issue of Regulations 111, if uniform with previous issues of similar regulations, will contain the text of relevant sections of the Internal Revenue Code, revised to date with possible minor exceptions for very recent amendments, in addition to the regulations themselves. This means that in one cover the purchaser gets something approximating a pair of private reprints.

For the fullest published advice upon really difficult Federal income tax problems it is necessary to consult the elaborate and costly loose-leaf tax services issued by Commerce Clearing House and Prentice-Hall, which are usually available in law offices, accountants' offices, banks, and business or law libraries. It should be added that these publishers also issue loose-leaf tax services intermediate in cost and completeness between the \$2.00 reprints described above and the full-size services.

### General Statement of Situation

Exemptions are now so low that the only safe attitude for a teacher is to assume he must file a Federal income tax return unless a study of the requirements positively assures him that he need not do so. These requirements are summarized at the very beginning of the instruction sheets distributed with the return blanks.

The tax to be covered by the March, 1944 returns contains three elements: (1) what may properly be called ordinary tax on 1943 income; (2) Victory Tax on 1943 income; and (3) the whole, or half of, "unforgiven" tax on 1942 income. These three elements are now described.

*Ordinary Tax on 1943 Income.* This tax is levied at the same rates, and in general with the same exemptions and credits, as applied in the 1943 returns to income of 1942. Most of it—in many cases, indeed, the whole or even too much—has already been paid through (a) the March and June installment payments of 1943, application of which has been shifted from tax on 1942 income to tax on 1943 income; (b) withholding at the source under the Current Tax Payment Act of 1943; and (c) the September and December installment payments of 1943, one or both of which accompanied declarations of estimated tax for that year. So far as this ordinary tax on 1943 income has not been paid prior to the filing of the return in 1944, *the entire shortage must accompany the return.* The shortage *may not be paid by installments running through 1944.* In other words, the Current Tax Payment Act has had the effect of bringing forward into 1943 the ordinary four installments of tax on that year's income, with a possible single final payment at the time of the return in 1944 to wipe out any deficit.

*Victory Tax on 1943 Income.* Like the ordinary tax on 1943 income, Victory Tax has usually been paid in full or nearly in full during 1943, partly through withholding and partly through the September and December installment payments. Indeed, many persons will find on making out their returns in 1944 that Victory Tax has been overpaid. The sections of the Internal Revenue Code originally imposing this tax provided elaborately

for a postwar credit, and also provided for optional acceleration of this credit by payment of life insurance premiums or indebtedness, or by purchase of United States bonds. These credit provisions are fully stated in the *Bulletin* for December, 1942 on pages 683-684. Legislation signed by the President on October 28, 1943 has deprived these provisions of importance by making the whole credit available to everybody with respect to taxes for 1943. The amendment will unquestionably cause much overpayment of Victory Tax. The matter of Victory Tax is pursued further in the subsequent discussion of Form 1040.

*"Unforgiven" Tax on 1942 Income.* The most perplexing feature of the 1944 return arises out of the partial "forgiveness" involved in the Current Tax Payment Act of 1943. The effect of this Act in the immediate connection can be put briefly and colloquially with fair accuracy. Congress, in dealing with the 1942 income tax liability and 1943 combined income tax and Victory Tax liability, has required the individual taxpayer to pay the *greater* of these two liabilities, *and* if the *lesser* exceeds \$50 has required *in addition* payment of either the excess over \$50 or else one-quarter of the lesser liability, whichever is the smaller sum. As a rule, professors with salaries of, say, \$3000 or over, and many with lower salaries, will find their total "unforgiven" tax exactly equal to the first quarterly installment paid with the return filed in 1943.

For technical reasons, the statutory description of the process is differently worded. In all ordinary cases, the statute discharged as of September 1, 1943 individual taxpayers' liability for tax on 1942 income. Simultaneously it added to the tax liability for the taxable year 1943, *in cases where (a) the tax for 1942 was equal to or less than the tax, both ordinary income and Victory, for 1943, and (b) the tax for 1942 exceeded \$50, a sum equal to 25% of the tax for the taxable year 1942 or the excess of such tax over \$50, whichever was lesser. In cases where the tax for 1942 was greater than the tax, both ordinary income and Victory, for 1943, Congress added to the tax liability for the taxable year 1943 (a) the amount by which the tax for 1942 exceeded the tax for 1943, and also, if in this situation the original tax for 1943 exceeded \$50, (b) a sum equal to 25% of the tax for the taxable year 1943 or the excess*

of such tax over \$50, whichever was lesser. This intricate pair of provisions was further horribly complicated by special safeguards against windfalls to war profiteers, but most professors are war victims instead of war profiteers, and need not study these elaborations. See, however, the comment *infra* on *Computation of Tax*. A special relief provision for the benefit of persons in active military or naval service is not described here, because the naval and military authorities have explained it to service men.

The entire settlement of "unforgiven" tax may be made in one payment with the return filed in 1944, or half may be thus paid and the rest with the return filed in 1945. The matter comes up for further comment hereafter in discussion of Form 1040.

Some individuals will find that advance payments in 1943 have more than satisfied all their liabilities under the 1944 return. They will be entitled to refund of the excess, or its credit against 1944 liability. The return forms provide in simple fashion for handling this situation. See Form 1040A, Item 17, and Form 1040, page 1, Item 23.

### Return Blanks: Form 1040A

Use of Form 1040A is optional for many taxpayers with gross incomes not in excess of \$3000. To be entitled to use the form, the taxpayer must be a citizen or resident alien; must be on the cash basis of accounting; must make return for a full calendar year; and must have income consisting wholly of salary, wages, compensation for personal services, dividends, interest, or annuities, or some combination of two or more of these forms of income. If husband and wife file separate returns, neither may use Form 1040A unless the other also uses this form. Additional special provisions as to use of this form by married persons, and certain other detailed conditions of its use, are clearly described on the form itself or on the excellent brief instruction sheet which will accompany it in 1944. Because of the peculiar complications already explained, use of Form 1040A is not so short and easy a job for March, 1944, as it was for March, 1943. However, it is far simpler than filling out the general utility Form 1040. No effort



has been spared to make 1040A intelligible, and this short form is very creditable to the Treasury and the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Form 1040A allows for personal exemption, for credit on account of dependents, for earned income credit, and for deductions to the extent of 6% of gross income. Its use by any person whose deductions run above this percentage will cause a loss instead of a saving of tax money. For example, a taxpayer with a modest income who owns his house will rarely find that Form 1040A is economical, because real estate taxes alone may easily carry his allowable deductions beyond the 6% top limit. If he also pays mortgage interest, the situation is still more heavily weighted against Form 1040A.

### Return Blanks: Form 1040

In using Form 1040, each taxpayer should carefully study the extended instructions which accompany the form. The following comments are in no sense a repetition or paraphrase of these official instructions. Instead, the comments cover certain specialized considerations of importance to the teaching profession. Incidentally the main differences between the measure of the Victory Tax and the measure of the ordinary income tax are indicated by separation of these taxes under each item. The numbering of the items follows their numbering in the return form.

#### *Item 1. Salary, Wages, and Compensation for Personal Services*

*Income Tax.* Many teachers in active service must decide whether they are bound to include, as part of gross income, contributions to the cost of deferred retirement annuities made by the institutions which these teachers serve. Under some retirement plans, educational institutions have set up trusts to which periodical payments are made for the ultimate benefit of teachers after retirement. Probably comparatively few such arrangements are now in operation, and any teacher participating under such a plan will do best to ascertain from the financial officers in charge whether he is bound to treat as gross income the contributions made for his benefit by the employer institution. The other and

much more common method of handling the retirement problem is to purchase deferred annuity policies from the T.I.A.A. or an ordinary insurance company. This second situation is explicitly covered by I.R.C. (abbreviation for Internal Revenue Code) §22(b)(2)(B) and by Regulations 111, §29.22(b)(2)-5, the latter explaining that, if an employer is an organization exempt from income tax because operated for educational purposes, an employee is not required to include in his current income the amount contributed by the employer for purchase of a retirement annuity contract. A teacher *is* required to include in current gross income the amount currently contributed by deduction from his gross salary for purchase of such a contract. As to the taxability of annuity payments after retirement, see *infra* under the heading *Annuities*.

Certain expenses are deductible from gross salaries and like compensation as a step in computing the earned income credit (as to which credit see the instructions furnished with Form 1040, foot of page 3, under the heading "Tax Computation Instructions"). The nature of these expenses and their place in the scheme of income taxation can be indicated by a brief summary of deductible and nondeductible expenditures. (1) Ordinary and necessary business expenses are deductible; these include expenses properly applicable against salaries, etc. (2) Ordinary and necessary current expenses are deductible, although not business expenses, if they are for production or collection of taxable income, or for management, conservation, or maintenance of property held for production of income. This deduction is permitted under I.R.C. §23(a)(2), the deduction provision being made the subject of extensive comment by Regulations 111, §29.23(a)-15, partially quoted at a later point. This kind of expense, because of its lack of relation to business or profession, is usually not deductible from a taxpayer's gross *earned* income. (3) Personal, living, or family expenses are not deductible. (4) Expenditures properly describable as capital investments are not directly or immediately deductible, being recovered only by allowances for depreciation or exhaustion spread over the useful life of the assets in which the investments are made.

Regulations 111, §29.23(a)-5, briefly cover professional ex-

penses. Of those enumerated as deductible, the ones most likely to affect teachers are the cost of supplies used in the practice of their profession, dues to professional societies and subscriptions to professional journals, hire of office assistants, and current expenditures for books and professional equipment of which the useful life is not more than one year. A ruling (I.T. 3448, 1941-1 C.B. 206<sup>1</sup>) adds to the deductible list "expenses of traveling and meals and lodging incurred in attending teachers' conventions in this country," so far as (a) there is no reimbursement for such expenses and (b) records are kept to substantiate the deductions claimed. See also Regulations 111, §29.23(a)-2, on ordinary business traveling expenses. I.T. 3448 ends thus:

The cost of technical books required by and purchased by teachers specifically for use in connection with their professional work is a capital expenditure which may be extinguished through annual deductions for depreciation.

This obviously refers to books usable for more than one year.

Questions are frequently asked about deductibility of expenses of research and publication in connection with Ph.D. theses, scholarly work carried out during sabbatical leave, and other like professional activities. It has been ruled that when a teacher receives sabbatical leave with continuing compensation on condition that he must travel for educational purposes during the period of leave, his expenses incurred on such travel are deductible. I.T. 3380, 1940-1 C.B. 29. Compare G.C.M. 10915, XI-2 C.B. 245, stating that railroad fare expended by a faculty member in traveling from his place of regular employment to his place of temporary employment at a summer school is deductible as a business expense. G.C.M. 11654, XII-1 C.B. 250, 251, states that expenditures in connection with the publication of results

<sup>1</sup> "C.B." means the semi-annual cumulative edition of the Internal Revenue Bulletin; "1941-1" means the issue of this cumulative bulletin for the first half of the year 1941; "I.T." means a ruling by the income tax unit. Some later abbreviated references may also be explained here. "G.C.M." stands for General Counsel's Memorandum. "XII-1" in connection with the abbreviation C.B. means the cumulative issue of the *Bulletin* for the first half of 1933; the convenient use of the numeral showing the year in question, instead of a Roman numeral, was not begun until 1937.

of investigation may or may not be deductible, depending upon whether they are ordinary and necessary current expenses or constitute capital expenditures. This and other distinctions are further developed in the following passages from Regulations 111, §29.23(a)–15:

Among expenditures not allowable under section 23(a)(2) are the following: Commuter's expenses; expenses of taking special courses or training; expenses for improving personal appearance; the cost of rental of a safe-deposit box for storing jewelry and other personal effects; and expenses such as expenses in seeking employment or in placing oneself in a position to begin rendering personal services for compensation, campaign expenses of a candidate for public office, bar examination fees and other expenses incurred in securing admission to the bar, and corresponding fees and expenses incurred by physicians, dentists, accountants, and other taxpayers for securing the right to practice their respective professions.

Fees for services of investment counsel, custodian fees, clerical help, office rent, and similar expenses paid or incurred by a taxpayer in connection with investments held by him are deductible under section 23(a)(2) only if (1) they are paid or incurred by the taxpayer for the production or collection of income, or for the management, conservation, or maintenance of investments held by him for the production of income; and (2) they are ordinary and necessary under all the circumstances, having regard to the type of investment and to the relation of the taxpayer to such investment. . . .

. . . Expenditures incurred for the purpose of preparing tax returns (except to the extent such returns relate to taxes on property held for the production of income), for the purpose of recovering taxes (other than recoveries required to be included in income), or for the purpose of resisting a proposed additional assessment of taxes (other than taxes on property held for the production of income) are not deductible expenses under this section, except that part thereof which the taxpayer clearly shows to be properly allocable to the recovery of interest required to be included in income.

One aspect of the deductibility of expenses has become particularly important to professors because of present emergency conditions. Many teachers, notably those engaged in engineering, science, economics, government, and law, have been called upon to give advice or render services at places distant from

their homes and regular places of work. They have had to spend money for travel and subsistence and need to know whether these expenditures are deductible. Cases and rulings do not cover all situations, but some illustrations may be helpful. If a teacher whose regular work and home are in New York City is summoned to Washington for a few days as consultant to a government department, it is clear that he may deduct from any compensation received for this service the cost of travel, food, and lodging. In case he receives an expense allowance as well as compensation for services, the approved method of treating the transaction in a Federal income tax return is to include both compensation and expense allowance in gross income and deduct therefrom actual expenses of the kind indicated above. If a teacher whose regular work is in Illinois goes to Massachusetts for an extended term of service, intending at the end of this service to resume work in Illinois, his traveling expenses are deductible. If this teacher during his absence continues to maintain for his family a residence in Illinois, it is probable that his living expenses in Massachusetts are deductible. If, on the contrary, he closes or rents his Illinois home, moves his family to Massachusetts, and there sets up temporary domestic headquarters, neither the expense of moving the family nor the living expenses of himself and family in Massachusetts would be deductible. In all cases of doubt taxpayers claiming such expense deductions should include in their returns clear and adequately detailed statements of fact.

Now and again a teacher in the course of scholarly work undertakes a task of research or authorship which cannot be completed for several years, with payment of all or a large part of the compensation held until completion. Under these circumstances he may find it possible and profitable, by following the alternative offered in I.R.C. §107, to spread the compensation over the entire period of work, instead of having to return it for income tax as a single lump sum. This section of the Internal Revenue Code was quoted in full on pages 689-690 of the *Bulletin* for December, 1942.

A recent amendment of the Internal Revenue Code permits members of the military or naval forces of the United States

to exclude from gross income annual compensation not exceeding \$1500 received for active service in such forces during the present war. See I.R.C. §22(b)(13). Such an exclusion apparently should be mentioned in a taxpayer's reply to Question 6 at the foot of page 3 of Form 1040.

*Victory Tax.* The foregoing commentary upon Item 1 for purposes of income tax is equally applicable to Victory Tax.

**Items 2 and 3. Dividends, and Interest on Corporation Bonds, etc.**

No special comment seems necessary. The rules for application of income tax and Victory Tax are the same.

**Item 4. Interest on Government Obligations**

*Income Tax.* The schedule in the return blank which supports this item will serve as an effective guide. A taxpayer on the cash basis who has purchased non-interest-bearing United States bonds issued at a discount, or other similar securities, governmental or private, redeemable for fixed amounts increasing at stated intervals, may elect to include the increase in redemption price applicable to the current year as part of his current gross income. There is a specific instruction about this matter, and reference may also be had to I.R.C. §42(b). If this election is once made, (a) it is binding for all subsequent years; (b) also the election must extend to all such obligations owned at the beginning of the first taxable year to which it applies and to all such obligations thereafter acquired; (c) furthermore, the taxpayer must include in gross income for the first taxable year to which his election applies the increase in redemption price of such obligations then owned occurring between the dates of acquisition and the first day of that taxable year.

*Victory Tax.* As indicated in the return form, Victory Tax does not apply to the income of United States Government obligations which is subject only to surtax. Otherwise the application of income tax and Victory Tax to this item is identical.

**Item 5. Annuities**

*Income Tax.* The taxation of annuities is important to retired professors. Generally speaking, when a deferred annuity pur-



chased by the recipient begins to be paid him, he is required to include annually in his gross income an amount of the annuity receipts equal to three per cent of "the aggregate premiums or consideration paid" for the annuity. The rest of the annuity receipts, treated as a return of capital investment, will be excluded from gross income until the aggregate exclusion is equal to the aggregate premiums or consideration paid. When a complete return of the investment has been thus accomplished, the entire amount of the annuity receipts becomes includible in gross income. If a retirement annuity has been purchased in part by deductions from the salary of the annuitant and in part by contributions from the employer, the question arises as to what shall be considered "the aggregate premiums or consideration paid" for purposes of applying the principle just stated. I.R.C. §22(b)(2)(B) provides in substance that the total amount deducted from salary and thus contributed by the employee shall be treated as "the aggregate premiums or consideration paid," when the annuity purchase has thus been made by joint payments from an educational institution and a teacher.

Carnegie Foundation retiring allowances and widows' pensions have been ruled nontaxable on the ground that they are gifts or gratuities. L.O. 1040, 3 C.B. 120 (1920). This ruling does not extend to payments made under the provisions of the will of Andrew Carnegie.

*Victory Tax.* The foregoing commentary upon Item 5 for purposes of income tax is equally applicable to Victory Tax.

*Item 6. Sale or Exchange of Capital Assets and Other Property*

*Income Tax.* The problem of dealing with gains and losses from sales or exchanges of assets has given Congress continual difficulty. The solution now in force calls for division of assets into two classes, namely, capital assets and "property other than capital assets." Gain or loss with respect to sales or exchanges of "property other than capital assets" is handled according to general rules, the gain being included in gross income, and the loss being deducted subject to limitations hereafter discussed under the heading of *Deductions*. With respect to gains and losses arising from sale or exchange of capital assets, the plan of procedure is to tax

net short-term gains like ordinary income, and to give long-term gains the benefit of less burdensome rates; to permit losses on the sale or exchange of capital assets to be offset, subject to the *Deductions* limitations, against ordinary income only to a very limited extent; and to permit the taxpayer a carry-over into the future for the sake of offsetting net capital losses in bad years against capital gains in good years. Consequently distinctions must be drawn not only between capital assets and "property other than capital assets," but also between "short-term capital gains" (and losses) and "long-term capital gains" (and losses). The statutory description of these distinctions, and of the whole process of taxation in this connection, is almost inconceivably intricate, and no attempt is here made to give a full explanation. With the return blank is furnished a separate schedule for handling gains and losses from sales or exchanges, and there are careful instructions for the use of this schedule. The instructions are necessarily hard reading, but the layout of the schedule is careful and greatly facilitates the making of a proper return.

*Victory Tax.* Victory Tax is not applicable to gain from sale or exchange of capital assets, and correspondingly does not permit deduction of loss from such transactions. See I.R.C. §451(a)(4). The return form indicates this difference between Victory Tax and income tax.

#### *Item 7. Rents and Royalties*

*Income Tax.* So-called "royalties" on books written or edited by teachers may be earned income and subject to the earned income credit. This type of "royalty" should be returned under Item 1 *supra*, rather than Item 7. In 1927 the Treasury issued G.C.M. 236, VI-2 C.B. 27, which, while not altogether easy to interpret, seems to mean that if an author agrees in advance as an employee or independent contractor to write an article or book for a publisher, the latter to copyright and own the product and to pay compensation to the author, the payments are earned income; but if the author first writes the article or book and then sells, leases, or rents "his intellectual product" (presumably this means the manuscript) to the publisher, his return therefrom is not earned income. Some doubt is felt as to the validity of

this distinction, but the matter has not been much further clarified. The case of *E. Phillips Oppenheim*, 31 B.T.A. 563 (1934),<sup>1</sup> is interesting in this connection.

*Victory Tax.* The foregoing commentary upon Item 7 for purposes of income tax is equally applicable to Victory Tax.

#### *Item 8. Business or Profession*

The problem of profits or losses from businesses or professions is not deemed of particular interest to professors as such, their profession being a salaried one.

#### *Item 9. Partnership Income, Fiduciary Income, Other Income*

If the taxpayer receives income from a fiduciary, he should in any matter of doubt apply to the fiduciary for the necessary information and advice.

#### *Deductions*

The instructions accompanying the return form adequately cover most questions commonly raised in connection with deductions. The taxpayer should note particularly that for purposes of Victory Tax he is not allowed any deduction for contributions or for medical expenses. Deductions on account of interest, taxes, and losses are much more restricted with respect to Victory Tax than with respect to income tax. See the instructions and I.R.C. §451(a). In connection with losses for income tax purposes, it must be remembered, both here and with respect to Item 6 *supra*, that for an individual a loss is not deductible unless (A) not compensated by insurance or otherwise and (B) suffered (1) in trade or business, or (2) in a transaction entered into for profit, or (3) from fire, storm, shipwreck, or other like casualty, or from theft. I.R.C. §23(e). For instance, loss on sale of a residence which the taxpayer has occupied as his dwelling-house up to the time of sale is not deductible although a gain on such a sale is taxable. It should also be noted that deductions may not be taken for losses from sales or exchanges of property directly or

<sup>1</sup> "B.T.A." means the series of reports issued by the Federal Board of Tax Appeals, now renamed The Tax Court of the United States.

indirectly between members of a family. I.R.C. §24(b)(1)(A) and (2)(D).

### *Computation of Tax*

As has been explained under the heading *General Statement of Situation*, the 1944 income tax returns really cover three taxes instead of one only. Hence the problem of computation is greatly complicated, and the necessary items can no longer be compressed into a box at the foot of the first page of the return. Each taxpayer will have to work down through an extended computation schedule, requiring many operations, and will also have to deal with a subsidiary schedule covering the Victory Tax. Careful scheduling, however, facilitates these tasks if pains are taken to follow directions, particularly the cross-references to items and schedules in the body of the return. The comments below emphasize the points calling for most thought, leaving self-evident matters to take care of themselves. Matters relating to income tax are discussed first, those relating to Victory Tax in a separate concluding paragraph.

*Personal Exemption.* The personal exemption of husband and wife who make separate returns on Form 1040 may be taken in full by either or divided between them in such proportion as they see fit. In this situation the taxpayers' object will be to produce the greatest saving. Since this exemption applies against surtax as well as against normal tax, it should as a rule be used by that spouse whose surtax net income runs into higher brackets.

A related question, also to be considered by married taxpayers, is the relative economy of joint and separate returns. In community property states, spouses will very often find separate returns more beneficial than joint returns, because in separate returns community income can be split, and the surtax thereon dropped into the lower brackets. Aside from this particular aspect of the problem, it is of course self-evident that when husband and wife, making separate returns, would each show taxable income, a joint return by them will tend to push some of that income into higher brackets and thus increase the aggregate tax. But if either spouse has surplus allowable deductions, credits, etc., more than offsetting his or her gross income,

a joint return may save tax because in it the aggregate income, deductions, and credits are computed as though husband and wife were one person.

*Credit for Dependents.* This credit applies against both normal tax and surtax, but can be claimed only by the person responsible for, and actually furnishing, support of the dependents in question.

*Earned Income Credit.* This credit applies only against normal tax. Taxpayers should be careful to compute the credit accurately in accordance with instructions. In the past, errors from careless computation have been frequent and have cast much needless work on Collectors' offices.

*Forgiveness Feature.* A teacher puzzled by this part of the computation should bear in mind the explanation placed earlier in this commentary (see paragraph headed "*Unforgiven*" *Tax on 1942 Income*). Taxpayers claiming credit for tax paid at source on taxfree covenant bond interest will have to handle the tax forgiveness items in a special way, giving certain supplemental information. Taxpayers whose surtax net incomes for 1942 or 1943 exceeded \$20,000—few teachers are found in this select group!—must make a special computation and furnish considerable supplemental information to show whether they belong to the group described above as "war profiteers." This results from Current Tax Payment Act of 1943, §6(c).

*Victory Tax.* Computation of the Victory Tax, which has its own specific exemption and its own special credit, is easier than computation of income tax. No taxpayer should have much difficulty with it if he remembers that the two computations *are* different in method, and exactly follows the official instructions.

### Income Tax Estimates in 1944

During 1944 payers of income tax will, under the current payment plan, be required to file estimates of their tax liability for the year and pay tax in accordance with these estimates. The initial estimate and payment are to be turned in by March 15, 1944, and will normally accompany the return for 1943. The form and content of estimates, however, depend upon the provisions of the Revenue Act of 1943, still pending in Congress at

the time of writing. It is intended in the *Bulletin* for February, 1944, to follow up the present explanatory statement with a supplementary statement covering the problem of estimates under the new Revenue Act. Even if difficulties of publication keep the February number from being available before March 15, 1944, a statement in it will be of use in connection with the estimates and payments of June, September, and December.

*Harvard Law School*

J. M. MAGUIRE



## THE ASSOCIATION'S ANNUAL ELECTION

As previously announced, in conformity with the recommendation of the Office of Defense Transportation, no Annual Meeting of the Association will be held in 1943, and the election to fill Association offices normally conducted by the Annual Meeting will be conducted by the Council by mail ballot.<sup>1</sup> The nominees for Association offices listed below will be voted upon as provided in Article X of the Constitution of the Association.<sup>2</sup> All of these nominees were selected by the Nominating Committee, as presented in the report of the Committee in the October, 1943 issue of the *Bulletin*. The brief biographical sketch which appears after the name of each nominee is published pursuant to By-Law 1.

Early in January, 1944 there will be sent to each chapter secretary a ballot carrying the names of these nominees for the use of the chapter in casting its vote. The regulations governing voting in this election are the same as those in elections conducted by the Annual Meeting. Each chapter is entitled to as many votes as it has Active Members according to the most recent annual membership tabulation. For the forthcoming election the membership tabulation published in the February, 1943 issue of the *Bulletin* of the Association is the one to be used.

If a chapter should wish to divide its vote, this may be done by the use of two or more ballots. For example, if a chapter with 30 Active Members uses a single ballot, the ballot has a value of 30 votes. If this chapter should elect to use two ballots, each ballot would have a value of 15 votes. Should a chapter wish to use more than one ballot, additional ballots may be obtained from the central office of the Association.

A chapter ballot should be cast in a chapter meeting following discussion of the nominees. All ballots cast by chapters must carry the signature of either the secretary of the chapter or some delegate duly appointed and authorized by the chapter. The

<sup>1</sup> See October, 1943 *Bulletin*, p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> For text of Article X of the Constitution of the Association see February, 1943 *Bulletin*, pp. 143-144.

final date when chapter ballots may be returned for counting will be indicated on the ballot. Instructions concerning the procedure for the annual election are being sent to chapter officers.

Active Members of the Association who are not in chapter connection, *i. e.*, those who are affiliated with an institution where there is no chapter or those who are not in institutional connection, are entitled to vote individually and ballots will be sent to them direct.

### President

QUINCY WRIGHT, International Law, University of Chicago

Elected 1924;<sup>1</sup> Chap. Pres., 1938-40; Com. on Academic Freedom and Tenure, 1925- ; Nominating Committee, 1940, Chm., 1941.

Born 1890. A.B., 1912, LL.D., 1923, Lombard College; A.M., 1913, Ph.D., 1915, University of Illinois. Fellow, 1915-16, University of Pennsylvania; Instructor, 1916-19, Harvard University; Assistant Professor, 1919-21, Associate Professor, 1921-22, Professor, 1922-23, University of Minnesota; Professor, 1923- , University of Chicago.

### First Vice-President

FRANK L. GRIFFIN, Mathematics, Reed College

Charter Member. Chap. Pres., 1936-37; Council, 1940-42; Com. on Freedom of Speech, 1942- ; Com. on Organization and Conduct of Chapters, 1938-40.

Born 1881. S.B., 1903, S.M., 1904, Ph.D., 1906, University of Chicago. Instructor, 1906-09, Assistant Professor, 1909-11, Williams College; Professor, 1911- , Reed College.

### Second Vice-President

JEWELL HUGHES BUSHEY, Mathematics, Hunter College

Elected 1925. Chap. Pres., 1938-40; Council, 1941-43.

Born 1896. A.B., 1915, University of Arkansas; A.M., 1916, University of Missouri; Ph.D., 1924, University of Chicago. Instructor, 1918-24, Assistant Professor, 1924-27, Associate Professor, 1927-30, University of Arkansas; Teaching Fellow, 1923-24, University of Chicago; Assistant Professor, 1930-39, Associate Professor, 1939- , Chairman of Department, 1940- , Hunter College.

<sup>1</sup> Refers in this and each following statement to the date of election to Association membership.

Nominees for the Council, 1944-1946<sup>1</sup>

## DISTRICT I

ELBRIDGE CHURCHILL JACOBS, Geology, University of Vermont

Charter Member. Chap. Secy., 1930-37; Chap. Pres., 1939-41.

Born 1873. S.B., 1896, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; A.M., 1913, Columbia University. Assistant Instructor, 1897-99, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Instructor, 1899-01, Assistant Professor, 1901-04, Professor, 1904- , Chairman of Department, 1924- , University of Vermont; State Geologist, Vermont, 1933- .

ROBERT WITHINGTON, English Language and Literature, Smith College

Elected 1920. Chap. Secy., 1930-31; Com. on Place and Function of Faculties in College and University Government, 1929-31.

Born 1884. A.B., 1906, A.M., 1909, Ph.D., 1913, Harvard University. Lecturer, 1909-10, University of Lyon; Assistant in English, 1910-12, Rogers Travelling Fellow, 1913-14, Harvard University; Instructor, 1914-17, Indiana University; Assistant Professor, 1917-20, Associate Professor, 1920-25, Professor, 1925- , Smith College.

## DISTRICT II

I. L. KANDEL, Education, Columbia University

Elected 1929. Com. on Cooperation with Latin-American Universities.

Born 1881. B.A., 1902, M.A., 1906, University of Manchester; Ph.D., 1910, Columbia University; Litt.D., 1937, University of Melbourne. Classical Master, 1906-08, Royal Academical Institute, Belfast, Ireland; Scholar and Teaching Fellow, 1908-10, Columbia University; Assistant Editor, 1909-13, Monroe's Cyclopedia of Education; Instructor, 1913-15, Associate, 1915-23, Professor, 1923- , Teachers College, Columbia University; Specialist, 1914-23, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

THURLOW C. NELSON, Zoology, Rutgers University

Elected 1922. Chap. Pres., 1935-37.

Born 1890. B.S., 1913, D.Sc. (Hon.), 1939, Rutgers University; Ph.D., 1917, University of Wisconsin. Assistant and Teaching Fellow, 1913-17, University of Wisconsin; Assistant Professor, 1919-23, Associate Professor, 1923-26, Head of Department, 1925- , Professor, 1926- , Rutgers University; Biologist, 1916- , New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station; Biologist, 1920- , New Jersey Board of Shellfisheries.

<sup>1</sup> One from each district to be elected.

## DISTRICT III

## OTIS F. CURTIS, Botany, Cornell University

Elected 1923. Chap. Secy., 1936-39; Chap. Pres., 1942-43.

Born 1888. A.B., 1911, Oberlin College; Ph.D., 1916, Cornell University. Tutor, 1911-12, Oberlin Academy; Assistant, 1912, Instructor, 1913-17, Assistant Professor and Plant Physiologist, 1917-22, Professor and Plant Physiologist, 1922- , Cornell University; Exchange Professor, 1926-27, University of Leeds.

## RICHARD H. SHRYOCK, American History, University of Pennsylvania

Elected 1926. Chap. Pres. (Duke University), 1933-34; Chap. Pres., 1942- ; Com. on Admission of Members, 1940- ; Com. on Required Courses in Education, 1932-36; Nominating Committee, 1939, Chm., 1940.

Born 1893. B.S., 1917, Ph.D., 1924, University of Pennsylvania. Instructor 1921-24, Ohio State University; Instructor, 1924-25, Professor, 1938- , University of Pennsylvania; Associate Professor, 1925-31, Professor, 1931-38 Duke University.

## DISTRICT IV

## W. E. BUTT, Economics, Pennsylvania State College

Elected 1928. Chap. Secy., 1929-33; Chap. Pres., 1941-43.

Born 1888. Attended Indiana University, 1907-09; B.A., 1911, M.A., 1914, University of Wisconsin; Ph.D., 1931, Yale University. Instructor, 1913-15, Assistant Professor, 1915-20, University of Kentucky; Assistant Professor, 1920-27, Associate Professor, 1927-32, Professor, 1932- , Pennsylvania State College.

## DONALD W. DAVIS, Biology, College of William and Mary

Elected 1924. Chap. Pres., 1928-29.

Born 1882. Graduate, 1900, State Normal School, West Chester, Pa.; A.B. 1905, Ph.D., 1913, Harvard University. Teacher, 1901-02, Buckingham Free School, Bucks Co., Pa.; Graduate Assistant, 1905-06, University of California; Professor, 1907-09, Sweet Briar College; Instructor, 1909-12, Radcliffe College; Assistant Professor, 1912-14, Clark College; Professor, 1914-16, DePauw University; Professor and Head of Department, 1916- , College of William and Mary.

## DISTRICT V

## WARREN O. NELSON, Anatomy, Wayne University

Elected 1940.

Born 1906. A.B., 1928, Augustana College; M.S., 1929, State University of Iowa; Ph.D., 1931, New York University. Teaching Assistant, 1925-28,

Augustana College; Teaching Assistant, 1928-29, University of Iowa; Laboratory Instructor, 1929-31, New York University; National Research Council Fellow, 1931-33, University of Chicago; Assistant Professor, 1933-34, University of Missouri; Assistant Professor, 1934-36, Yale University; Professor and Head of Department, 1936- , Chairman, Division of Basic Medical Sciences 1937- , Wayne University.

EDGAR N. TRANSEAU, Botany, Ohio State University

Elected 1920.

Born 1875. A.B., 1897, Franklin and Marshall College; Ph.D., 1904, University of Michigan. Professor, 1907-15, Eastern Illinois Teachers College; Professor, 1915- , Chairman of Department, 1918- , Ohio State University.

DISTRICT VI

ROBERT BECHTOLD HEILMAN, English, Louisiana State University

Elected 1936. Chap. Secy., 1938-40.

Born 1906. A.B., 1927, Lafayette College; M.A., 1930, Ohio State University; M.A., 1931, Ph.D., 1935, Harvard University. Teaching Fellow, 1927-28, Tufts College; Instructor, 1928-30, Ohio University; Instructor, 1931-33, 1934-35, University of Maine; Instructor, 1935-36, Assistant Professor, 1936-42, Associate Professor, 1942- , Louisiana State University.

JOHN KUIPER, Philosophy, University of Kentucky

Elected 1932. Chap. Vice-Pres., 1933-34; Chap. Pres., 1934-35.

Born 1898. A.B., 1921, Calvin College; A.M., 1922, University of Michigan. Instructor, 1926-29, University of Michigan; Associate Professor, 1929-31, Professor and Head of the Department, 1931- , University of Kentucky.

DISTRICT VII

R. W. GERARD, Physiology, University of Chicago

Elected 1934.

Born 1900. B.S., 1919, Ph.D., 1921, University of Chicago; M.D., 1925, Rush Medical College. Professor, 1921-22, University of South Dakota; National Research Fellow, 1926-27; Assistant Professor, 1928-29, Associate Professor, 1929-40, Professor, 1940- , University of Chicago.

WILLIAM JAFFÉ, Economics, Northwestern University

Elected 1931. Chap. Secy., 1939-41; Chap. Pres., 1941-42.

Born 1898. B.A., 1918, The City College (New York); M.A., 1919, Columbia University; Docteur en Droit, 1924, Université de Paris. Tutor, 1924-25,

The City College (New York); Social Science Research Council Fellow, 1925-26; Collaborator, 1926-28, Columbia University Council for Research in Social Science; Assistant Professor, 1928-38, Associate Professor, 1928- , Northwestern University.

#### DISTRICT VIII

CLAIR FRANCIS LITTELL, History and Political Science, Cornell College

Elected 1924. Chap. Secy., 1924- ; Com. on Organization and Conduct of Chapters, 1940- .

Born 1887. A.B., 1916, A.M., 1918, Syracuse University; Ph.D., 1921, Columbia University. Teaching Fellow, 1916-18, Syracuse University; Carnegie Endowment Fellow, 1918-20, Columbia University; Assistant Professor, 1920-22, Associate Professor, 1922-24, Allegheny College; Professor, 1924- , Director of Debate, 1929- , Cornell College.

HENRY ROTTSCHAEFER, Law, University of Minnesota

Elected 1929. Chap. Pres., 1931-32.

Born 1888. B.A., 1909, Hope College; J.D., 1915, University of Michigan; S.J.D., 1916, Harvard University. Instructor, 1912-15, University of Michigan; Professor, 1922- , University of Minnesota.

#### DISTRICT IX

JOHN H. QUISENBERRY, Biology, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas

Elected 1938. Chap. Vice-Pres., 1940-41; Chap. Pres., 1942-43.

Born 1907. B.S., 1931, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas; M.S., 1933, Ph.D., 1936, University of Illinois. Research Assistant, 1931-36, University of Illinois; Associate Professor, 1936- , Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

OTTIS H. RECHARD, Mathematics, University of Wyoming

Elected 1923. Chap. Secy., 1925-29; Chap. Pres., 1936-37.

Born 1896. A.B., 1916, M.A., 1918, Gettysburg College; Ph.D., 1930, University of Wisconsin. Instructor, 1916-18, Gettysburg College; Instructor, 1919-23, Lecturer, 1929-30, University of Wisconsin; Assistant Professor, 1923-25, Associate Professor, 1925-28, Professor, 1928- , Chairman of Department, 1926- , Chairman, Graduate Study Committee, 1939- , War Projects Administrator, 1943- , University of Wyoming.



## DISTRICT X

## ROBERT H. LOWIE, Anthropology, University of California

Elected 1923.

Born 1883. A.B., 1901, The City College (New York); Ph.D., 1908, Columbia University; Sc.D. (hon. causa), 1941, University of Chicago. Assistant Curator, Associate Curator, 1908-21, American Museum of Natural History; Associate Professor, 1917-18, 1921-25, Professor, 1925- , University of California.

## RALPH H. LUTZ, History, Stanford University

Elected 1923. Chap. Pres., 1939- ; Com. on Organization and Conduct of Chapters, 1935- ; Com. on Financial Resources of the Association, 1939- .

Born 1886. A.B., 1906, Stanford University; LL.B., 1907, University of Washington; Ph.D., 1910, University of Heidelberg. Instructor, 1911-15, Assistant Professor, 1916-20, University of Washington; Lecturer, 1915-16, Associate Professor, 1920-29, Professor, 1929- , Director, Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, 1920- , Dean of Graduate Study, 1933- , Stanford University.

## HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE WAR

December 20, 1943

To the Members of the Association:

A year ago in a report to the membership published in the December, 1942 issue of the *Bulletin*, I described the steps that had been taken by the several organizations representative of higher education to achieve for education a constructive rôle in the prosecution of the war. In this report I related in detail the work of the American Council on Education of which the American Association of University Professors is a constituent member. I indicated that among its activities in relation to the war was the establishment of a bulletin of information, entitled "Higher Education and National Defense." This bulletin is concerned with the policies of the government in the prosecution of the war as they affect colleges and universities. It is published in mimeographed form and issued as current developments make necessary. To date there have been 61 issues of this bulletin and 15 supplements. The most recent of these supplements, issued on December 18, 1943, is concerned with the question of the continuance of the Army Specialized Training Program. This supplement reads as follows:

On Sunday, December 12, a number of newspapers throughout the nation carried a statement which by headline or by implication indicated that the Army Specialized Training Program would be "liquidated." On the following day the War Department released the following statement to the press:

"In answer to inquiries, the War Department announced today that the Army Specialized Training Program is not in process of liquidation. The number of soldiers in the Program will depend in the future, as in the past, on the actual needs of the Arms and Services.

"In this connection the Secretary of War said:

"The number of soldiers assigned for training under the ASTP will be changed from time to time so as to accord with the needs of the Army and the available manpower. It is now being

reduced, but may later be either increased or still further reduced as the exigencies of the military situation or military training make advisable.'

"At the present time there are approximately 140,000 soldiers in the Program. The first group of soldiers entered upon this training in April of this year and the first graduates have already been assigned to responsible Army jobs."

Consultations with representatives of the armed forces would indicate that every effort will be made to give notice to the individual institution as far in advance as possible regarding any changes in the quota for such institution. In any case, the contract calls for ninety-day notice before the program is terminated at an institution. For the Navy program some internal adjustments of quotas may be made which must necessarily reflect changing war needs. At the present time no immediate reduction is contemplated in the over-all Navy quotas, although, like any war program, plans are subject to change in terms of changing needs. There will probably be some gradual decrease in the total quotas of the ASTP but, if such decrease occurs, it will not, under the decision now in effect, exceed 10 to 15 per cent of the present quota. However, as Secretary Stimson has indicated, future decisions will be predicated on the military situation. In the initial reduction, every effort will be made to prevent the elimination of institutions having small units of men and to spread the bulk of the reduction over the institutions having the larger quotas. Little change, if any, is anticipated in the Air Service College Training Program.

Since the inauguration of the Army Specialized Training Program, the Association has received a number of requests for information concerning the Army and Navy contracts with colleges and universities. In conference with the appropriate representatives of the Army and the Navy, representatives of the Association have sought and secured the information requested. In this connection, I am sorry to report that instances have been brought to our attention which indicate that at some institutions the teaching personnel in the Army Specialized Training Program has not been compensated in accordance with the intent of the responsible representatives of the Army and the Navy. These instances of alleged improper administration will be investigated with a view to the clarification of the facts.

RALPH E. HIMSTEAD, *General Secretary*

## GIFTS FOR PERUVIAN LIBRARIES

An appeal for donations of books to re-establish the National Library of Peru and Lima Geographical Society was issued recently by Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress. The two Peruvian centers of learning were almost completely destroyed by fire on May 10, 1943.

Shortly after the fire the Secretary of State appointed a Committee to Aid the National Library of Peru and Lima Geographical Society, and Mr. MacLeish is now serving as its chairman. Dr. Lewis Hanke, Director of the Hispanic Foundation in the Library, is secretary of the Committee.

In order to ascertain the needs of the Peruvian libraries at first hand, Mr. Wilmarth S. Lewis, Chairman of the Librarian's Consultants, Mr. Keyes D. Metcalf, Director of Harvard University Library, and Dr. Hanke were sent to Peru in August as the Committee's representatives. They spent 11 days in Lima discussing the needs of the destroyed libraries with Peruvian officials, and brought back recommendations for technical assistance as well as for gifts of materials. There is particular need for books in the following categories: United States' classics in English and Spanish translations of them; standard reference books; books on librarianship and library problems; books produced by United States' authors on Latin American culture, particularly Peruvian culture; books on teaching of the English language, including grammars, dictionaries, and other teaching aids; files of a few selected standard periodicals such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harpers*, and *Foreign Affairs*. The Lima Geographical Society desires also to rebuild its collection of maps and geographical works on the nations of the world.

Gifts should be sent to the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, marked "For the National Library of Peru." A special bookplate has been devised and each volume will bear the

name of the donor. They will be preserved as a collection in a locked stack at the Library of Congress, and will be presented as a unit to the Peruvian libraries when the new building to house them is completed.

## COMMISSION ON THE FUNCTION OF PHILOSOPHY IN LIBERAL EDUCATION

The American Philosophical Association has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a Commission on the Function of Philosophy in Liberal Education. The task of the Commission is "to re-examine thoroughly the nature and function of philosophy in higher education and in general culture, and to study ways and means of reorganizing the teaching of philosophy in order to make the contribution of philosophy to the post-war world most effective." The Board of Officers of the Association selected for membership on the Commission the following:

Brand Blanshard, Swarthmore College  
Curt J. Ducasse, Brown University  
Max C. Otto, University of Wisconsin  
Arthur E. Murphy, University of Illinois, Chairman  
Charles W. Hendel, Yale University, Secretary

In the terms of the grant, liberal education is conceived very broadly. It includes not only education in college and university but also the development of a free and reflective life in the community at large. Thus the work of the Commission is to inquire into the general function of philosophy in the life of the individual and society.

The Commission can best perform so extensive and important a task if it is able to marshal to its aid the combined wisdom of all concerned. It is therefore seeking the views of scholars and teachers in philosophy and wishes especially to get testimony from the various schools of thought. A number of meetings are planned in different parts of the country where not only members of the profession but also others from different walks of life may discuss what philosophy means at present to the community and what it should mean, especially in the days to come. Both the needs of the plain man and citizen and the demands of scholarship are to be considered. Studies will also be made of the following ques-



tions: recent trends in professional philosophy during the past twenty-five years; the philosophy that reaches the general public through nonprofessional channels and literature; the relations of philosophy, science, and religion; the rôle of philosophy in schools of education; the content and method of graduate instruction and training in philosophy; the place of philosophy in proposed reconstructions of the liberal arts curriculum. The Commission will bring together the results of all these studies and consultations into a report that should yield a clearer view of the objectives of philosophical study and teaching today.

All who are in any way concerned are invited to give the Commission the benefit of their views on any of these questions. The Commission will be particularly interested in learning about courses of study presently offered or planned, special methods of instruction, the nature and extent of collaboration between scholars in philosophy and those in other disciplines, and ways in which philosophy is given a practical bearing on human affairs.

The address of the Secretary is 327 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

## CORRECTING AN ERROR

In the article, "The Plight of the Colleges," by Dr. W. C. Eells in the October, 1943 issue of this *Bulletin*, there is an error. The map on page 511, showing the number of universities approved for government contracts by the Joint Committee for the Selection of Non-Federal Institutions, shows no such institutions in the State of California, whereas three black circles should be shown in that State. The three major universities of California were approved early in the program and have been the recipients of numerous contracts for training men for various branches of the armed services.

This error was brought to our attention by the author in a letter of November 25, as follows:

I am terribly chagrined this Thanksgiving morning, as I have been glancing over my article, to discover the unfortunate error in the first map. And it would be California—on the part of an ex-Californian! Strange, isn't it, how things like that never appear in the copy or in the proof, but stick out like a sore thumb as soon as the article itself appears?

I trust that you will do what you can to correct this error in the next issue. In the meantime, I shall give my secretary the exciting little job of adding in ink three black circles in each copy of my reprints.

Perhaps today I should be thankful, at any rate, that the error is no worse. Evidently the activities of the Gremlins are not limited to the Air Corps.

The Editor of the *Bulletin* has expressed to Dr. Eells fraternal understanding and sympathy and has acknowledged contributory negligence in not observing so startling a phenomenon as the total disappearance of universities in California. Recipients of the October, 1943 issue of the *Bulletin* are urged to correct this error by placing three black circles appropriately spaced within the boundaries of California in the map on page 511.—THE EDITOR

## Censured Administrations

Investigations by the American Association of University Professors of the administrations of the several institutions listed below show that they are not observing the generally recognized principles of academic freedom and tenure, endorsed by this Association, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of American Law Schools, and the American Association of Teachers Colleges.

Placing the name of an institution on this list does not mean that censure is visited by this Association either upon the whole of that institution or upon the faculty, but specifically upon its present administration. This procedure does not affect the eligibility of nonmembers for membership in the Association, nor does it affect the individual rights of our members at the institution in question, nor do members of the Association who accept positions on the faculty of an institution whose administration is thus censured forfeit their membership. This list is published for the sole purpose of informing our members, the profession at large, and the public that unsatisfactory conditions of academic freedom and tenure have been found to prevail at these institutions. Names are placed on or removed from this censured list by vote of the Association's Annual Meeting.

The censured administrations together with the date of censuring are listed below. Reports of investigations were published as indicated by the *Bulletin* citations:

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| Adelphi College, Garden City, New York<br>(October, 1941 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 494-517)  | December, 1941 |
| John B. Stetson University, De Land, Florida<br>(October, 1939 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 377-399)  | December, 1939 |
| University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri<br>(October, 1941 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 478-493)  | December, 1941 |
| Montana State University, Missoula, Montana<br>( <i>Bulletin</i> , April, 1938, pp. 321-348; December, 1939, pp. 578-584;<br>February, 1940, pp. 73-91; December, 1940, pp. 602-606) | December, 1939 |
| West Chester State Teachers College<br>West Chester, Pennsylvania (February, 1939 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 44-72)   | December, 1939 |
| University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania<br>(March, 1935 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 224-266)  | December, 1935 |
| St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri<br>(December, 1939 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 514-535)  | December, 1939 |
| State Teachers College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee<br>(December, 1942 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 662-677)  | May, 1943      |
| University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee<br>(June, 1939 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 310-319)  | December, 1939 |
| Central Washington College of Education, Ellensburg,<br>Washington (October, 1940 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 471-475)   | December, 1940 |
| Western Washington College of Education (Board of Trustees),<br>Bellingham, Washington (February, 1941 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 48-60)  | December, 1941 |
| Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina<br>(April, 1942 <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 173-196)   | May, 1943      |

## MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the American Association of University Professors is open to all college and university teachers from the faculties of eligible institutions and to graduate students and graduate assistants. The list of eligible institutions is based primarily on the accredited lists of the established accrediting agencies subject to modification by action of the Association. Election to membership in the Association is by the Committee on Admission of Members upon nomination by one Active Member. Election takes place thirty days after the name of the nominee has been published in the *Bulletin*. The membership year in the Association dates from January 1 through December 31. The membership of nominees whose nominations are received before July 1 becomes effective as of January 1 of the current year. The membership of nominees whose nominations are received after July 1 becomes effective as of January 1 of the following year unless otherwise requested.

The classes and conditions of membership are as follows:

*Active.* A person is eligible for election to Active membership if he holds a position of teaching or research with the rank of instructor or higher in an institution on the Association's eligible list, provided his work consists of at least half-time teaching or research. Annual dues are \$4.00, including subscription to the *Bulletin*.

*Junior.* Junior membership is open to persons who are, or within the past five years have been, graduate students in eligible institutions. Junior Members are transferred to Active membership as soon as they become eligible. Annual dues are \$3.00, including subscription to the *Bulletin*.

*Associate.* Associate membership is not an elective membership. Active and Junior Members whose work becomes primarily administrative are transferred to Associate membership. Annual dues are \$3.00, including subscription to the *Bulletin*.

*Emeritus.* Any Active Member retiring for age from a position in teaching or research may be transferred to Emeritus member-

ship. Emeritus Members are exempt from dues. They may continue to receive the *Bulletin* at a special rate of \$1.00 a year.

*Life Membership.* The Treasurer is authorized by the Council to receive applications from members of the Association for Life membership. The rate is determined in each case on an actuarial basis and includes a life subscription to the *Bulletin*.

*Continuing Eligibility.* Change of occupation or transfer to an institution not on the Association's eligible list does not affect eligibility for continuance of membership.

*Interruption or Termination of Membership.* Interruption or termination of membership requires notification to the Association's Washington office. In the absence of such notice, membership continues with receipt of the *Bulletin* for one calendar year during which time there is an obligation to pay dues.

### Nominations for Membership

The following 292 nominations for Active membership and 3 nominations for Junior membership are printed as provided by the Constitution. In accordance with action by the Council, objections to any nominee may be addressed to the General Secretary, who will in turn transmit them for the consideration of the Committee on Admission of Members if received within thirty days after this publication. The Council of the Association has ruled that the primary purpose of this provision for protests is to bring to the attention of the Committee any question concerning the technical eligibility of the nominee for membership as provided in the Constitution.

The Committee on Admission of Members consists of Professors Ella Lonn, Goucher College, *Chairman*; B. W. Kunkel, Lafayette College; A. Richards, University of Oklahoma; R. H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania; W. O. Sypherd, University of Delaware; and F. J. Tschan, Pennsylvania State College.

#### *Active*

University of Alabama, Walter G. Warnock; Albany Medical College, Arnold V. Wolf; Albion College, Harold Q. Fuller, Edmund E. Ingalls; Baldwin-Wallace College, Cecil W. Munk, George Poinar; Ball State Teachers College, Clementine Eich, W. Farrin Hoover, Lucia Mysch; Bard College, Stefan Hirsch; Baylor University, O. L. Basford, T. J. Bond, Oren V. Luke, Jr., Wenonah R. Ware; Beloit College, Allen Scholl, Frederic E. Sweet; Boston University, Saul E. Jofte; Bowling Green State University, W. Harold

Anderson, Jane A. Bovie, D. W. Bowman, Gertrude Eppler, Lorlie V. Kershner, Ralph M. Line, Cornelia Menges, Bernard F. Nordmann, John K. Raney, Samuel M. Woolsey; **Bradley Polytechnic Institute**, Ellis K. Frye; **Brooklyn College**, Serge Chermayeff, Joseph H. Davidson, Maurice Lieberman, Frederick W. Maroney; **Bucknell University Junior College**, Thomas R. Richards; **Catholic University of America**, Manoel da S. Cardozo, John T. Ellis, Edward P. Lilly, Patrick W. Skehan; **Central College (Iowa)**, Mason Olcott; **University of Chicago**, Lowell A. Martin; **The City College (New York)**, Robert Cortell, Erich A. Gutzmann; **Colgate University**, Paul Farmer, Frederick Jones; **Denison University**, Walter T. Secor, Eri J. Shumaker, Grace Spacht; **DePauw University**, Herman Berg, Mary E. Currier, Helen F. Harrod, Harriet Hazinski, C. Edmond Jarvis, Henry Kolling, James Ming, Willard B. Phelps, Carmen E. Siewert, Mary E. Smith, Edward B. Stevens, Margaret E. Whitney; **Drake University**, James N. McClelland; **Drew University**, Madeleine H. Rice; **University of Dubuque**, Morgan H. Dake, Thomas A. Stone, Dorothy M. Taylor; **Findlay College**, Aletha M. Herwig; **University of Florida**, Frederick T. Hannaford, Roy E. Tew; **Fresno State College**, Louis Mudge, Horace Schorling; **Furman University**, Vera E. Burnette, John M. Snelling; **Georgetown University**, A. Earl Vivino; **Green Mountain Junior College**, Lewis G. Stone; **Harvard University**, Karl Sax; **Hobart College**, Madelyn Cushing, Kenneth P. Dowd, Mary Jansen, Robert Lewert, Gilbert S. Panson; **Hood College**, J. Alex Gilfillan, Margaret K. Hardy, Marion G. Smith, Helen M. Thal; **Hunter College**, Sherman Ross; **Illinois Institute of Technology**, Edgeley W. Todd, Frederic R. White; **Southern Illinois Normal University**, J. Cary Davis, Dorothy Rolens, Charles H. Stinson; **Indiana State Teachers College**, Arthur DeW. Hill, Ruth B. Hill, Gwylm Isaac, Harry V. Wann; **Indiana University**, Richard Lillard, Salvador E. Luria; **Iowa State College**, Ronald C. Bentley, Gustav H. Bliesner, John E. Dean, Russell E. Dickinson, Fern A. Goulding, Ralph Moyer, Juliette M. Perotti, Mattie Pattison; **State University of Iowa**, William M. Hale, Jeronimo Mallo, Oscar E. Nybakken; **Fort Hays Kansas State College**, Lucille Felten, Winfred J. Lincoln, Jessie Pearce; **Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia**, S. Winston Cram, James E. Rowan, Charles B. Tucker; **University of Kansas**, John B. Virtue; **Keuka College**, Donald Gorham, Frankie G. Merson, Harriett Maylor, Petra Orlando; **Lincoln Memorial University**, Harry F. Williams; **Southwestern Louisiana Institute**, Ralph H. Agate, James J. Alexander, Walter C. Benstrup; **Louisiana Polytechnic Institute**, Clinton G. Goss; **Marshall College**, William N. Lockwood; **Mary Washington College**, Louis J. Cabrera, Faith Johnston, Harold Weiss; **Michigan State Normal College**, Howard Blackenburg, Florence Eckert; **Northwest Missouri State Teachers College**, Morton C. Cunningham, Ruth O. Lane, Bonnie Magill, Irene M. Mueller, Jacob M. Porterfield, J. Richard Wilmeth; **Missouri Valley College**, Clarence H. Nelson; **Montana State University**, Charles Bloom, Montana J. Grady, Charles F. Hertler, C. Rulon Jeppesen, Melvin Morris; **Nebraska State Teachers College (Kearney)**, Harold Ahrendts, Leona M. Failor, Robertson Strawn;



Nebraska State Teachers College (Wayne), Murvie H. Hanawalt, Samuel B. Shively; University of Nebraska, Otis Wade; New England Conservatory of Music, Boris Goldousky; New York Medical College, Catherine M. Russell; New York State Teachers College (Cortland), Maxwell G. Park; New York University, John W. McConnell, Ernest R. Wood; Northwestern University, Leland H. Carlson, Zenon Szatrowski; Oberlin College, J. Hans Adler, Edmund V. de Chasca; Central State College (Oklahoma), Ethel Derrick; Northwestern State College (Oklahoma), Wilbur H. Tanner; Oregon State College, Carolyn G. Sullivan; Pennsylvania State College, Hummel Fishburn; Pennsylvania State Teachers College (Indiana), Carrie B. Parks; University of Pennsylvania, David T. Rowlands; Phoenix Junior College, C. D. Cocanower; University of Pittsburgh, Theodore H. Clarke, Bernard F. Daubert, A. Gwendolyn Drew, Malcolm F. Dull, Robert F. Edgar, Peter Gray, John W. Harbaugh, Minnie L. Lynn, Richard H. McCoy, George M. McKinley, Albert B. Martin, Eugene W. Miller, Erma T. Wheeler, T. Walley Williams, Warren R. Witz; Pomona College, Ernest A. Strathmann; Purdue University, Louise Baird, Delton C. Beier, P. Harvey Brewer, Garnet H. Cutler, Kenneth Davenport, H. George DeKay, B. L. Dodds, Jonathon T. Frost, William S. Gillam, Ida Kelley, Horton B. Knoll, J. H. Lefforge, B. Elwood Montgomery, Wendell R. Mullison, F. E. Robbins, G. A. Satter, Jerome P. Seaton, Alfred C. Sharp, William R. Thompson, Virginia B. White; Queens College (New York), William Dighton, Edwin B. Knowles, Jr.; Lester G. Krakeur, Annette Landau, Irene Samuel, Nelle Smither; Queens College (North Carolina), Lois Cross, Frances H. D. Crumrine, Jo Langford, John H. Norman, Mary L. Taylor; Rhode Island State College, Brooks Sanderson; Rollins College, George Sauté; Rose Polytechnic Institute, C. LeRoy Mason; Russell Sage College, Gustave Schwamm; San Jose State College, Edith G. Germane; University of South Carolina, John C. Ayers, George W. Tomlin, Marcellus S. Whaley; Sul Ross State Teachers College, Victor J. Smith; Syracuse University, Lillian H. Armstrong, Anna Balakian, George L. Bird, Marguerite Fisher, Abe Gelbart, George W. Gray, Edwin M. Moseley, Nelson F. Murphy, Hans Samelson; Temple University, Herman Gundersheimer; Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, Chauncey B. Godbey, Curtis J. Hesse, Homer C. Martin; Texas College of Arts and Industries, Edwin R. Bogusch; Texas College of Mines and Metallurgy, Anton H. Berkman; East Texas State Teachers College, Catherine Neal; University of Texas, John Abernethy, Robbin C. Anderson, Herschel Baker, Hugh C. Blodgett, Joseph Cline, Kenneth C. Davis, Austin Faricy, Constance Forsyth, Nathan Ginsburg, Mary Goldmann, Lewis F. Hatch, Eleanor James, H. L. Lochte, Eastin Nelson, William R. Neville, Cecil V. Pollard, Granville Price, Carl M. Rosenquist, Helen M. Sands, Arthur H. Scouten, Esmond E. Snell, C. L. Sonnichsen, Mildred Spicer, Guy Steffan, Lucetta J. Teagarden, Howard W. Townsend, Jesse J. Villarreal; University of Toledo, Frances M. Chapman, Alice E. Huebner; Tulane University, Helen P. Beard, Frederic Knight, Karl Korsch, Aline Mackenzie, Helen-Jean Moore; Utah State Agricultural College, Dee A.

Broadbent, Almeda P. Brown, Harold H. Cutler, G. Homer Durham, Evelyn Hodges, Moyle Q. Rice, Joel E. Ricks, Wallace J. Vickers, J. Stewart Williams; **University of Vermont**, Albert M. K. Blume; **University of Virginia**, John A. Rorer; **Wells College**, Melvin LeMon, Frances H. Murphy, Elizabeth P. Wyckoff; **West Virginia University**, Dana Wells; **West Virginia Wesleyan College**, Hubert Frings, Rudolph A. Glick; **Municipal University of Wichita**, Helen Lohr, Martin F. Palmer; **College of William and Mary (Norfolk)**, David B. Camp, John C. Hayward, Robert E. Luce, Dorothy Lucker; **Wittenberg College**, Robert G. Remsberg; **Xavier University**, Luella Overn.

### *Junior*

**Brooklyn College**, Ben-Ami Scharfstein; **New York Medical College**, Elbert R. Capps; **Not in Accredited Institutional Connection**, Anita Ascher (Ph.D., **Smith College**), Summit, N. J.

## Members Elected

The Committee on Admission of Members announces the election of 218 Active and 3 Junior Members as follows:

### *Active*

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*Transfers from Junior to Active*

University of New Mexico, Edith S. Blessing; University of Southern California, Donald P. Wilson.

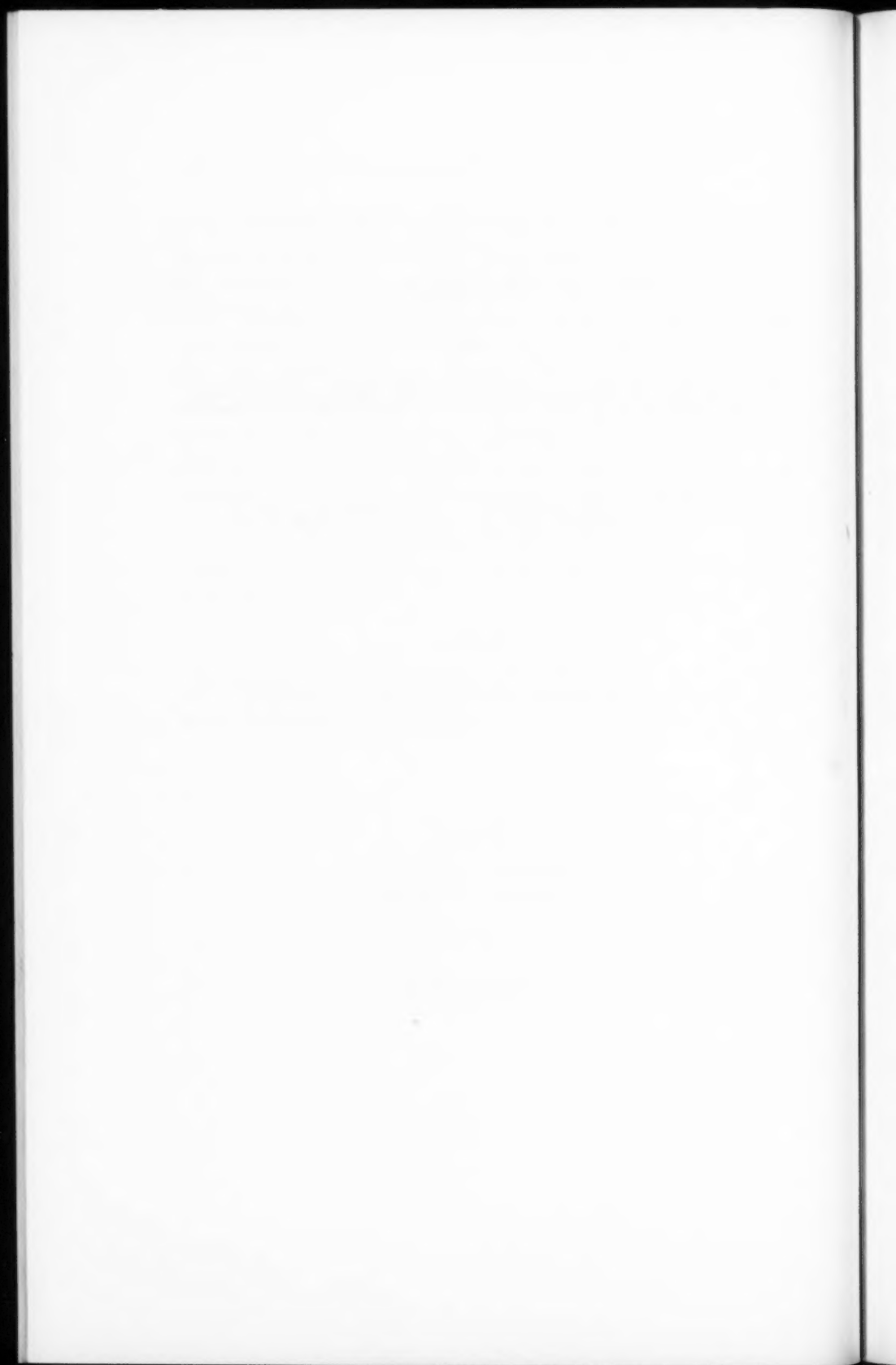
*Junior*

Northwestern University, Hugh H. Smythe; Rice Institute, Hugh D. Brunk; Not in Accredited Institutional Connection, Emerald C. Bristow (M.A., University of Richmond), Alexandria, Va.

Bulletin  
*of*  
The American Association  
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University Professors



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Physics: Man, 23, single, B.A. and graduate work. At present Instructor in Physics, Army College Training Program. Previous experience in Physics and Mathematics. Available for essential teaching in February, 1944. A 2123

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For information concerning the Annual Election of the Association, see pages 705-711.

